



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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29 August 1991

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Disarmament Talks To Continue on Schedule

OW2608173491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1640 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry is resolved to comply with the agreed schedule of arms control talks despite the recent events in the country. Diplomats at the ministry's Department for Arms Control and Disarmament said the Soviet position in negotiations on strategic, conventional and other types of weapons had been defined by President Gorbachev and as such, remained in force. Soviet diplomats believe the USSR will comply with all previous agreements which in itself makes it impossible to halt the negotiating process on further arms reductions.

A high-ranking Soviet diplomat has dismissed suggestions that a credibility gap appeared in the Soviet-U.S. relations and that the START treaty signed in Moscow last July might [be] difficult to implement. "I believe both sides are interested in the implementation of the treaty", a leading official from the arms control and disarmament department said, "it is another matter that the treaty should be ratified as soon as possible".

According to a previously agreed schedule, the negotiations on conventional arms reductions in Europe will be resumed in Vienna on September 2. In the same month, Soviet and American experts will meet in Geneva to discuss problems relating to nuclear and space-based arms. In October, Geneva is expected to become a venue for the so-called consultations on negotiations aimed to determine ways and numerical limits of further cuts in offensive strategic weapons as a follow-up to the Moscow treaty.

A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the USSR said, the United States has sent no signals indicating that it would like to change this schedule. Nor has the Soviet Union. Officials at the arms control and disarmament department have confirmed that throughout the 72 hours of the abortive coup or afterwards U.S. officials did not express their concern over what was taking place in the USSR, even though there were signs of a split in the army and of some rocket launchers (for example, a submarine of the Pacific fleet) going over from one jurisdiction to another.

Development of New Class of Missile Completed

LD2708103291 Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT
27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 27 TASS—"Recently, work has been completed on the Kuryer programme, within the framework of which specialists in the Institute have elaborated

a new class of Soviet ballistic missiles", the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper writes today, quoting an unnamed source in the Automatics and Instrument Engineering Scientific and Research Institute.

"According to the source, who works on control systems for ballistic missiles and ensures test launches and flights, the new missile is similar to the U.S. Minuteman missile, and its flight range is 10,000 kilometers," the newspaper writes.

"The first test launch was to be from the Plesetsk launch site between May-June," the newspaper writes. "But the test was canceled, and later launches were postponed several times."

"Finally, several employees of the institute learnt that between August 19-20, Institute Director Vladimir Lapygin (an MP and former chairman of the Soviet Parliament's Commission for Defence Issues and State Security) was ordered to launch the missile this week," the newspaper writes.

"Asked who signs such instructions, he said: 'the country's president or defence minister,'" the newspaper writes.

Worldwide Issues

Broader Relations With G-7 Expected

OW2808180691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1718 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union expects that after the abortive government coup and the restoration of democracy the seven industrialized nations will intensify cooperation with it and build up from the resolutions adopted at the London summit conference. There have been many signs that the bearings set at President Gorbachev's meetings with the seven leaders last July will be reconsidered in keeping with the current situation in the USSR and the West's readiness to give the Soviet Union greater support. Consultations of technical experts (sherpas) from the seven industrialized nations beginning in London tomorrow, August 29, may approve of more radical steps in terms of the form and size of aid to the USSR.

For instance, the Soviet Union may be granted full-fledged membership of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank instead of the associate member status it has enjoyed since the London summit. The International Economic Ties Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry is making preparations for a series of contacts in September and October within the framework of cooperation with the G-7.

Negotiations with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will begin in Moscow on September 3. Currently the European Bank is the sole

international financial organization where the Soviet Union has full-fledged membership. There will be more consultations with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, including those on the question of giving the Soviet Union the full membership status. Within the next two months the finance ministers of the seven countries will visit Moscow under the London summit's resolution, which stays in effect.

West Welcomes Gorbachev's Resignation From Party

PM2708121691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "West Welcomes 'Departyization' of the Soviet President"]

[Text] People abroad regard M.S. Gorbachev's decision to divest himself of his powers as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as a most important political event in the Soviet Union. Thus, a statement by President G. Bush's press secretary has been circulated in the United States saying: "It has been announced that Mikhail Gorbachev has resigned as general secretary and demanded the dissolution of the party Central Committee. We welcome this news as another step forward in the reform process."

Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation as CPSU Central Committee general secretary changes nothing in German-Soviet relations, D. Vogel, FRG official government spokesman, said in an interview with DPA. As USSR president, Gorbachev remains his country's representative in talks with the FRG Government, he stressed. D. Vogel voiced the opinion that the USSR president's move may boost the chances of the successful implementation of the reform policy.

French Foreign Minister R. Dumas said, following the announcement that M.S. Gorbachev had resigned as CPSU Central Committee general secretary, that he would help to speedily convene a European Community session at foreign minister level with a view to helping speed up the reform process in the USSR.

A spokesman for Britain's prime minister welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's decision, saying that it was not unexpected. "The Soviet Union must now," he said, "find a just and democratic alternative. The Communist Party has not justified the hopes pinned on it either in the Soviet Union or in other countries."

Foreign Ministry's Coup Behavior Viewed

91UF1109A Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Aug 91
p 3

[Interview with A.V. Fedorov, RSFSR deputy foreign minister, by N. Shevtsov; place and date not given: "When the President's Portraits Disappear"]

[Text] [Shevtsov] Andrey Vladimirovich, analyzing the events of the three dreadful days of the putsch, what

could you say about the position occupied by the central foreign ministry's leadership of diplomatic missions abroad?

[Fedorov] It is obvious even now that the return to Moscow on 18 August of former Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh from Belorussia, where he had been vacationing, was no accident. There is corroborative evidence of the fact that this occurred on the instructions of those who had given notice of their leadership of the coup. It was from them that the instructions which A. Bessmertnykh, in turn, ordered to be carried out were received. In accordance with them, all embassies received the text of the junta's statement and the directive: Convey the documents to the leadership of foreign countries and request recognition of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Some ambassadors displayed particular diligence, declaring the total "constitutionality" of the coup. They included Zamyatin in Britain, Gventsadze in Ireland, Kashlev in Poland, and Terekhov in the FRG. We cannot, in this connection, fail to be surprised by the hasty statement of the FRG Federal Chancellor's Office concerning the "proper behavior" of Soviet Ambassador V. Terekhov during the coup. In my view, the evaluation of his actions needs to be made here in Moscow, not in Bonn.

According to our information, M.S. Gorbachev's portrait was taken down in more than 20 embassies on 19 August. There were possibly even more such embassies. But the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry lacks precise information inasmuch as in the days of the putsch it was practically sidelined from sources of diplomatic information. It is interesting that all the portraits were put back in place on Thursday, 22 August. Their disappearance and, subsequently, reappearance were explained more often than not by the fact that they had been taken down for dusting.

Many former party committee secretaries, who have of late been called personnel advisers, proved extremely loyal to the junta. This position had practically nothing to do with diplomacy and was used to suppress thought among embassy personnel. And in the foreign ministry itself a diplomat right up to the coup could have left on an overseas assignment with only the approval of the party committee, and he had in the well-known item on the information sheet to indicate membership of the CPSU and his party card number. There is nothing surprising in the fact that party members have constituted 99.9 percent of the employees of Soviet diplomatic departments. The personnel service in the foreign ministry is still headed by V. Nikiforov, former deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Department.

It was with the blessing of the foreign ministry leadership that the news conference of members of the junta, in whose organization Yu. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Agency, distinguished himself particularly, was held. Those few USSR Foreign Ministry

employees, on the other hand, who during the putsch declared their disbelief in its constitutionality and decided to quit the CPSU were told that they would be dismissed.

[Shevtsov] And how was the activity of your ministry carried out during the putsch?

[Fedorov] The whole time of the coup attempt not one leader of the USSR Foreign Ministry called our ministry. My attempts to get a call through on the government line were unsuccessful. We were not given a single piece of information on the reaction overseas received from Soviet embassies. Although it was clear even so that this information could not have been distinguished by truthfulness inasmuch as many embassies were reporting their support for the junta and a readiness to cooperate with it.

In this situation, the RSFSR Foreign Ministry began on 19 August in accordance with a decision of the Russian leadership, to follow B.N. Yeltsin's news conference, to telex the Russian president's edicts and truthful information about the situation in the country. Unfortunately, as distinct from the USSR Foreign Ministry, we had only one telex line. Our international telephone and fax communications had been cut off. But the putschists had, by all accounts, forgotten about the telex. Our telex, therefore, was reminiscent of a red-hot flatiron. Telegrams were sent by it around the clock. We managed to send out information to approximately 40-50 Soviet embassies. But the majority of them, alas, failed to convey it not only to the leadership of the host countries but even to the employees of Soviet establishments overseas. On the other hand, telegrams, telexes, and fax messages communicating the embassies' full support for the constitutional system in our country and the Russian leadership came streaming into the RSFSR Foreign Ministry on Thursday evening.

Nor was particular support and attention on the part of our embassies in a number of West European states perceived by RSFSR Foreign Minister A.V. Kozyrev, who had gone there to launch an international campaign of solidarity with Russia and its legitimate leadership. At the same time, however, during the putsch A. Belonogov and V. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign ministers, remained overseas on working consultations as if nothing had happened. And at the time when it was becoming clear that blood was about to be spilled in Moscow, Petrovskiy declared that the opening of the Conference on the Human Dimension within the framework of the all-European process scheduled for 10 September would take place. Yet the principal theme of this conference was to have been human rights and observance thereof in full.

Despite the entire complexity of the situation, it was thanks to the efforts of the RSFSR foreign ministry that it was possible to organize President Yeltsin's telephone conversations with Presidents Bush and Mitterrand and Prime Ministers Major and Kaifu. The Russian foreign

ministry regularly notified foreign embassies of the situation which had taken shape in the country. Even at the most difficult moments of the defense of the "White House" it ensured access thereto for foreign correspondents. It should be borne in mind here that our staff is 30 times smaller than in the central foreign ministry, and in terms of the work area at our disposal, we are the lesser by a factor of 300.

[Shevtsov] Let us, nonetheless, return to the discussion of your ministry's relations with the USSR Foreign Ministry at the time of the putsch.

[Fedorov] It has now been ascertained that none other than Yu. Kvitsinskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, had prohibited the dispatch of special telegrams on behalf of the Russian leadership to Soviet establishments abroad. In conversation with me after the putsch he shamelessly declared that at that time the USSR Foreign Ministry was sending out thousands of telegrams. The fact that we had presented telegrams from the Russian leadership was in practice concealed. If necessary, we are prepared to show which telegrams were compiled and what brief wording, torn out of the overall context, concerning Russia's position was sent out by the USSR Foreign Ministry.

And, altogether, what can be said about a USSR Foreign Ministry leadership which has for two years now refused to include in the so-called information layout B.N. Yeltsin's staff and has been doing everything to limit the Russian structures' access to information from abroad.

At the same time, however, I would like to say that many good honest people work in the USSR Foreign Ministry, but that they, more than in any other civil department, perhaps, are oppressed by that system which initiated a putsch against its own people. Of course, some of the diplomats who besmirched themselves by support for the junta will resign, but, as practice shows, many are trying to quickly display their chameleon capacities and are attempting to do everything possible to whitewash themselves. An example of this was A. Bessmertnykh, who organized a news conference and then came to greet M.S. Gorbachev. For this reason much today will depend on how scrupulous the new leader of the USSR Foreign Ministry is. It is extremely important that he not find himself in the same situation as the president of the USSR in respect to his former associates.

[Shevtsov] And the final question—how will the work of your ministry be organized in the immediate future?

[Fedorov] This will depend primarily on what decisions on the future of the Union are adopted in the immediate future and on how authority is ultimately distributed.

Foreign Ties: Emphasis 'Shifting to Russia'

PM2508194491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[By Stanislav Kondrashov under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Tests Behind Us, Tests Ahead"]

[Text] This long, action-packed week provided a really dialectical answer to the question that was tormenting both us and people abroad: Is a military coup d'etat possible in the Soviet Union as it traverses the ascents, depressions, and abysses in the path of reforms? Yes, it turned out: It is possible. But only the kind that lasts not quite three days and ends in the total collapse of the dilettante conspirators. And consequently serves as the most graphic illustration to date of how democracy has after all taken root in what was only yesterday a totalitarian state, acquiring resolute defenders in the democratically-elected leadership of the biggest of the republics.

People are also convinced of this now abroad, by which we usually mean first and foremost the most active and influential section of "abroad"—the West, headed by the United States. The West's first reaction, irrespective of all its variations, was, of course, disbelief in the pretexts advanced by the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] (about President Mikhail Gorbachev's health), rejection of that regime, and firm, though initially rather restrained, condemnation of it. Then a unique and increasingly conscious collaboration rapidly developed between the leadership of western states and the resistance forces in Moscow, headed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The more evidence there was of the democratic forces' resolve, the firmer was the West's criticism of the attempted coup and the stronger the political and economic pressure on those involved in it. And this international support, expressed in the actions of officials in Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, and other capitals and also in the reactions of the mass media and the public, in turn fed the resolve of the resistance forces.

It was not they, but the junta that was isolated in the world community, and this in itself was dramatic proof of our effective entry into the mainstream of the "single civilization" that presupposes a single set of panhuman values. Bush stated unequivocally that there could be no economic cooperation with the powers that overthrew the legitimate president. The European Community set forth its stance equally definitely. Thus not only from the viewpoint of its international status, but also as regards purely practical, economic "profit," the SCSE's cause was lost. Without western aid, which accounts for something like one-third of our consumption of a number of basic food products, economic disaster and the threat of famine—contrary to the promises made—would not recede, but draw nearer.

What is the international outcome? In the course of an unexpected but successfully completed test, our links with the West passed the test and will now undoubtedly be strengthened. Favorable political and psychological preconditions have been created for new, broader economic cooperation projects, at an accelerated pace. The process of integration of the Soviet Union into the world economy which was announced only just over a month ago at the G-7 meeting in London could now develop at a more rapid rate.

But possibly the most important result of what happened is the exceptional growth in Boris Yeltsin's international prestige. In June, after his election to the post of Russian president, he became in the eyes of the West the most important figure in the Soviet Union embodying democratic values through a direct mandate from the voters. Now he has appeared before the world as an unswerving defender of democracy in the face of mortal danger.

In response to earlier accusations of being too "tied" to the personality of Mikhail Gorbachev in its relations with the USSR, the White House had invariably defended itself with the argument that U.S. policy gives priority to principles (economic and political freedom), not personalities. Now, in the emotional atmosphere of recent days, both principles and personality, for the Bush administration, are merged in the figure of Yeltsin as much as, and probably more than, in the figure of Gorbachev.

This raises a more general and important question about where the emphasis will now be placed on U.S. relations—and not only U.S. relations—with the Soviet Union: on our central leadership, or on the Russian leadership. There is not necessarily a contraposition here, nor is there any longer the certainty that the U.S. president showed during his visit to the USSR, giving preference to relations with the center. Clearly the emphasis in relations will shift to where the real influence and power shifts to. And they are shifting to Russia—after its democratic forces saved the Union president too. Another thing is also clear: Our future foreign policy (or foreign policies) will be determined by the fate of the new Union and the dynamics of the practical implementation of the provisions of the Union treaty, in particular the section dealing with foreign policy and foreign economic activity.

The broader but little mentioned context of the adventure that ended so ignominiously cannot be ignored. It was intended to forestall the signing of the Union treaty, which hands over the main bulk of power to the republics and drastically reduces the center's powers. What happened on the night of 18-19 August could be seen as a conspiracy against the Gorbachev-Yeltsin political alliance on the part of the main central structures of the former unitary imperial state which is now doomed to disappear. They can see no place for themselves in the future. Or else they see a place, but one that is so unfamiliarly and humiliatingly modest that they cannot consent to it. This question of life and death was apparently further exacerbated for them by Yeltsin's attacks last week on the "Union bureaucracy." At the meeting with Nursultan Nazarbayev in Alma-Ata 16 August, he once again proposed that the Union Cabinet of Ministers be replaced by an interrepublic government organ on a coalition footing.

The putschists decided to anticipate the course of events to suit themselves—and they lost. But it was not only specific individuals who lost, the prestige of the center

also lost, and its influence suffered a real decline. President Gorbachev now admits the mistakes he made in selecting cadres. He has become a king without a court. And the Cabinet of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman—that is, the nucleus of the central structures—are compromised by overt or covert participation in an unconstitutional act. That reduces the authority of central structures both in our country and abroad.

Commenting recently on the results of Bush's visit to Moscow, I mentioned the episode of Yeltsin's refusal to sit at the table as part of an enlarged Soviet delegation headed by Gorbachev, as an example of disorderliness in our foreign policy, which apparently embarrassed the U.S. president too. I wrote that if Russia has—or is about to have—its own foreign policy which does not necessarily coincide with the Union policy, then a very complex and scarcely stable structure of dual statehood will emerge, in which the already proclaimed dual sovereignty (of the Union and of the republics belonging to it) does not rule out a dual or multiple foreign policy and the absence of a common concept of security. I still hold that view. The theoretical structure I referred to could work in a neutral confederation like that of Switzerland, but is not suitable for a great power—the possessor of a huge arsenal of nuclear weapons.

Now the centrifugal forces have grown stronger, and the centripetal forces are weakened and, I repeat, compromised, because they are represented by obsolete and, as has again been confirmed, undemocratic structures, beginning with the CPSU Central Committee. The paradox—a costly one—is that they are undermining the very idea of a strong Union by acting as its—unpopular—defenders. And this too is one of the international and, of course, domestic lessons of the putsch.

Successful and stable renewal can only come via the polling booth, via the direct mandate of the people, which will democratically legitimize—or not legitimize—the aspirations of those who want a democratically renewed and strong Union. And only in the practical implementation of the Union treaty, which stipulates the election of leading Union structures by a ballot of the people, can many tasks be resolved, including the task of finding a new equilibrium in defining and implementing foreign policy.

Future Neutral, Alliance-Free Europe Eyed

PM2708131191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Interview with Yu.S. Deryabin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Security and Cooperation in Europe, by P. Golub; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Study for a Portrait of Tomorrow's Europe. Will the Policy of Neutrality Prove Viable?"]

[Text] The political processes that are following a tumultuous course in Europe are influenced by all manner of factors. Not least by the activities of neutral states. But

does real neutrality exist today? Is it a viable principle in the current circumstances of profound changes in the international arena? We asked Yu.S. Deryabin, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Security and Cooperation in Europe, to answer these and other questions.

[Golub] If you don't mind, Yuriy Stepanovich, let us agree first about terms, decide what we mean by neutral and what we mean, for example, by nonaligned states.

[Deryabin] Okay. Briefly speaking, the former are a group of European states that have officially declared neutrality in international affairs (for example, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, and Finland). The nonaligned countries have decided on a foreign policy credo of formal noninvolvement in any alliances (they are Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Liechtenstein, and others). Together they form the group that is commonly known as the "N and N" (neutral and nonaligned states).

"N and N" started to operate as an established group within the framework of the Helsinki process. It was the Madrid meeting (November 1980-September 1983) that marked an increase in its activities. It was as a result of the constructive stance and compromise actions of the neutrals that the final document of the Madrid meeting was arrived at; it gives a special place to the mandate of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures. This made possible the actual holding of the Stockholm conference, where major military-political decisions were made. In particular, an accord was reached there on conducting on-site inspections, which then became part and parcel of the disarmament process.

At the Vienna meeting, which marked a major breakthrough in the human rights sphere, it was largely due to the neutrals' contribution that a start was made on setting up the CSCE "human dimension mechanism," that is, cooperation in the sphere of human rights and the promotion of contacts between people.

[Golub] So the role of the neutral states can be defined as the role of intermediary in relations between opposing blocs, bridge builder, and fashioner of compromises. Are these countries not forfeiting the opportunity to actively participate in the all-European process in conditions of the gradual departure from the bloc scheme of things and the surmounting of the division of Europe into two distinct opposing camps?

[Deryabin] Certainly, in the new conditions, where yesterday's confrontation gives way to new all-European structures, the role of intermediary could be less prominent. And neutral states will be looking for a new place in European political schemes.

[Golub] Could this quest explain why statements on the need for rapprochement with West European economic and political structures have become increasingly frequent of late? Vienna and Stockholm have adopted a

course of closer cooperation with the Common Market. The issue is being discussed in Bern and Helsinki.

[Deryabin] I believe these trends are due primarily to the fact that it is impossible for the neutrals to ignore the factor of the ever-increasing integration of Europe in an economic sense. The neutrals can no longer remain aloof from these processes for economic reasons. Hence the desire to organize cooperation with the strengthening European Community.

In these conditions the question of political rapprochement with the Common Market inevitably arises. Why? Because not only socioeconomic questions but also questions of political integration are being tackled within the framework of the European Community. Moreover, right now the question of giving the EC a military-political dimension is being posed with increasing persistence. These trends are making the problem even more complex. Even if the very idea of a political union in which the foreign policy of the member-states is coordinated (and this presupposes forgoing a degree of sovereignty) poses a problem for the neutrals, then what about their attitude toward plans for military integration and the elaboration of the general principles of an EC military policy.

[Golub] How compatible are the principles of traditional neutrality with these new trends? Is it realistic for the neutrals to join in the European integration processes in these conditions?

[Deryabin] There are various opinions on this. To all appearances, for example, the Austrians think it is possible to combine the principles of a unified foreign policy and the maintenance of neutrality. How the Common Market would regard it and whether it would entertain the ideas put forward by some neutrals of granting them "special status" in the context of their membership of the EC is another matter. As far as I am concerned, this question is far from resolved, because the European Community's main aim is to create a strong, internally cohesive and unified union in the economic sphere, in the social sphere, and in the political sphere.

[Golub] Politics is the art of the possible. Will the sides be able to find a compromise?

[Deryabin] It seems to me that it is a matter of protracted contacts and complex talks.

[Golub] Let us suppose the sides come to an understanding. There is a convergence between the neutrals and West European socioeconomic and military political structures. Will this not damage our strategic interests?

[Deryabin] All I will say is that this would contradict both our philosophy and the all-European philosophy, which has been very clearly delineated since Paris. According to this philosophy, the development of Europe is to move in the direction of creating all-European security and cooperation structures. Although it will be a lengthy process, we see the future of Europe

not as a structure established around NATO or as a European Community which everyone would join. As we see it, the future structures would be based on non-bloc approaches, on collective, or, as they now say, cooperative foundations. So the question arises: To what extent does the neutrals' linking up with the European Community meet the interests of creating a united Europe?

[Golub] FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher recently said that NATO does not want to see the USSR's western borders forming the future dividing line in Europe. But the current processes of convergence between the neutrals and the Common Market and the linkup with West European structures by our former allies in the Warsaw Pact military organization could be seen as a step toward isolating the Soviet Union, pushing it to the side of the highway of all-European integration.

[Deryabin] It is no secret that there are those in the West who favor isolating our country. But I believe that the majority of politicians in western countries and among our former allies realize that the implementation of these plans would have grave consequences for Europe itself.

[Golub] Is there specific confirmation of this?

[Deryabin] For example, some of our former allies suggest that since the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact Organization's military structures a "security vacuum" has appeared in Central Europe which they would like to "fill" by joining NATO, either as full members or as associate members, or through the extension to their territory of the North Atlantic alliance's zone of responsibility. But, according to our information, NATO is clearly aware at the political level of the danger and undesirability of implementing these wishes.

[Golub] How realistic is the possibility of the coordination of our efforts and the neutrals' efforts in further strengthening European security?

[Deryabin] Considering that the neutrals are very sympathetic toward the ideas of the creation of all-European security structures, I believe that one could well be talking, if not of coordination, then of finding common viewpoints with them. This applies to the Vienna Center for the Prevention of Conflicts, which was set up to tackle military disputes above all but which in the future will become an instrument for preventing and resolving political conflicts.

The disarmament process offers broad scope for our mutual understanding. For example, it was again largely due to the neutrals' constructive proposals that an understanding was reached in Paris to the effect that, following the 1992 "Helsinki-2" conference, the two strands of disarmament talks (the Vienna talks of the "22" on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and the talks of the "34" on confidence-building measures) will coalesce. This will help overcome the bloc nature of the disarmament talks and make it possible to also take into consideration the military potential of the

members of the "N and N" group (some of them possess a fairly large military potential).

I must say that the actual CSCE process is making adjustments to the concept of neutrality. The traditional idea of neutrality as passive noninterference in international affairs and nonparticipation in the settlement of international issues is giving way to active neutrality. Former Finnish President U.K. Kekkonen came up with a very nice phrase that has become an aphorism: "In matters of war and peace Finland is not neutral."

The actual principle of neutrality is not obsolete. Its practical content could change, new elements could be added to it and some die off, but the actual policy of neutrality is still viable and will continue to be so in the foreseeable future. The transition from bloc to pan-European security structures demands the active participation of states that champion neutrality as a factor of pragmatic policy within the framework of the CSCE process. If we may look into the distant future, we may say, figuratively, that the future of Europe is the future of a neutral continent without any alliances.

[Golub] Doesn't your hypothesis mean that we will see the question of ending the U.S. presence in Europe raised in the future?

[Deryabin] No, we do not have any secret desire to dismantle transatlantic unity. Because we appreciate both the West Europeans' interest in preserving links with the United States and the Americans' interest in preserving links with West Europe. For us, U.S. participation in the CSCE process is a reality. The security of our continent is a complex and interrelated concept, and each participant has a valuable role to play here.

Economic Cooperation With Asia To Expand

OW2308012791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2051 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Cabinet of Ministers decided to organize in the USSR an Asian trade house to develop trade and economic ties with businessmen from China, North Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, Laos, Cambodia and other Asian countries.

It will offer services in information field, organize consultations and act as a mediator, set up joint ventures in industry, services and agriculture, and exchanges, agencies, companies in the USSR and abroad.

It will also focus on the development of counter trade, and ties between stock exchanges, auctions and marketing companies and on investment.

Fishery Ties With Asia To Expand

OW2608233091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2052 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Experts at the USSR Ministry of Fisheries believe that the decline of economic ties with East Europe in fisheries may continue for the next few years, while cooperation with Asian countries will develop. Contacts with the Soviet Union's customary partners in Europe will place the emphasis on joint ventures. Joint companies have already begun fish catching and processing on the Black and Baltic Seas. In Asia, the Soviet Union is going to catch shellfish in the Sea of Japan with the participation of Vietnam, and firms of South Korea and Japan, and to expand cooperation with China in using the fish resources of the Amur and Ussuri rivers. There are plans for opening joint ventures with Vietnam and China and to arrange for the repair of Soviet ships in Chinese and, probably, Vietnamese dockyards.

END Holds Moscow Disarmament Convention

PM2908090991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By Vikentiy Matveyev: "Nuclear Disarmament Convention in Moscow"]

[Text] Brussels, West Berlin, Perugia, Amsterdam, Paris, Coventry, Lund, Victoria, Helsinki and Tallinn, and now Moscow: These are the venues for convention meetings of the international anti-war organization known as the Movement for European Nuclear Disarmament, or by the English abbreviation END.

Representatives of the public from no fewer than 30 countries plus delegates from 50 foreign nongovernmental organizations gathered here. Besides the plenary sessions, during the four days of the conference (14-17 August), sections, groups, and roundtables were at work. Representatives of our public also took an active part in them.

How should the struggle for disarmament be conducted in light of the great changes in our planet's expanses? This was the main theme during the lively and at times stormy debates that took place at the forum.

Only recently masses of people took to the streets and squares with a more or less specific idea of to whom and to which governments they should address their demands to begin the disarmament process. Now to propound such slogans is to force one's way to gates which are no longer blocked. Reality has superseded many of the peace campaigners' intentions. Maybe in that case they should declare a moratorium on their activities? Of course, it is understandable that nobody at the convention mentioned this at all. Without work, neither END nor other peace movements will be left in existence.

Although the mounting global problems—ecology, energy, demography—will not disappear from the mass demonstrations, their solution requires other methods and actions. The voices of foreign "Greens" and our "Let Us Save the World and Nature" association spoke up loudly and convincingly at the convention. Which is as it should be.

Nuclear disarmament remains the main aim of the ambassadors of youth (and there was a particularly large number of them), the intelligentsia, trade unions, churches, parliaments, academics, and culture who participated in this meeting, and it was no accident that the hope that our country and its leadership will also remain loyal to the struggle for a nonnuclear world was expressed from the convention platform. At the moment not everyone in END's ranks is sure—let us note—that we are so resolved.

As yet it is too early to say that we have already succeeded in curbing the arms race, many speeches stressed. Thus, during examination of the Gulf War's consequences, the almost unanimous opinion emerged that the center of gravity in the design and production of weapons has now shifted to the latest technology, including space technology. Severe criticism of U.S. policy was voiced in this connection. And our country was even mentioned together with the United States as also being responsible for the indiscriminate trade in arms.

Of course, the key theme was Europe and the role of peace movements in the formation of its future. Positive changes are indisputable, but new and alarming phenomena have also emerged. In the section that was discussing the prospects for democratization on the continent many speakers, including FRG Bundestag member Gert Weisskirchen, pointed out the danger of the rise of neofascism and chauvinism unless the current gulf between living standards in West and East Europe is bridged.

At a plenary sitting the eminent public figure Chiara Ingraio (Italy) stated that Europe does not need the "rapid reaction forces" planned by NATO but does need to avoid crises similar to the present one in Yugoslavia.

END did not focus exclusively on Europe. The voices of representatives from Asia and Africa spoke up loudly from the convention platform. The section on the Near East was at work. In a closing address John Lambert, one of END's founders, reported an action scheduled for the beginning of October: In the capitals where there are embassies of Israel and Arab countries, to make a "human chain" between them—a symbol of the link and the intercourse without which there can be no peace in the Near East.

Three main tasks for the near future were formulated for END at the forum: To act in the name of disarmament, civil rights, and securing the rights of any and all nationalities. He stated that the Moscow convention is historic in the full sense: In fact there was no West or

East at the convention but, instead, that panhuman commonality was established there which opens up the greatest hope for mankind's future.

The next END meeting will take place in Brussels at the beginning of July 1992.

China

PRC Spokesman Denies Yang Comment on Coup

LD2808081591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0630 GMT 28 Aug

[By Andrey Kirillov and Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Aug (TASS)—A representative of the Chinese Foreign Ministry today denied reports from Ulaanbaatar stating that PRC President Yang Shangkun, who is there on an official visit, allegedly called the failed coup d'etat in the USSR a "crime". This report was based on a statement by the head of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] president's press service to several foreign journalists and MONTSAME.

"President Yang said nothing of the sort," a representative of the Chinese foreign policy department told a TASS correspondent over the telephone. During the talks with MPR President P. Ochirbat, he noted, the question of what is going on in the Soviet Union was indeed discussed. Yang Shangkun stated that what happened in the USSR is the internal affair of the Soviet Union and therefore must be resolved by the Soviet Union itself. The unaltered position of the Chinese Government consists of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states and respect for the choices of their peoples.

According to the representative of the PRC Foreign Ministry, Yang Shangkun expressed confidence that in the wake of the restoration of President Gorbachev in his post, friendly Sino-Soviet relations will continue to develop on the basis of the joint communiques of 1989 and 1991.

Smugglers Clash Near Leninskoye Settlement

LD2808105991 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Here is some information on yet another new trend in the business world. According to reports coming from the Far East border district, the border between the USSR and China has become a zone for smugglers. Metal, fuel, and building materials are being exchanged for Chinese vodka. Many Soviet people penetrate into China. According to them they go on tours or to practice Oriental single combat. However, there is enough of single combatting at the border where deals quite frequently result in clashes. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has published such an example: In response to

a case where one of our citizens stole something from Chinese territory, 30 Chinese disembarked near the Leninskoye settlement and took one of the local inhabitants hostage.

Exchange Rate Slumps on Soviet-Chinese Border

PM2908081491 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 3

[By V. Kuznetsov and A. Platkovskiy: "Not All Democracy Reaches the Middle of the Amur"]

[Text] Heihe, Khabarovsk—The ruble [R] rate of exchange in the Chinese city of Heihe has begun to fall. This happened right after news of the coup in Moscow got here—one of the liveliest crossing points on the Sino-Soviet border. It seems that the first signals have come in from the right bank of the Amur that China is extremely sensitive to events that rock its "northern neighbor."

You could have gotten R100 19 August in Heihe for 20 yuan. Two days later this had dropped to 14-15 yuan. Local traders have begun to get rid of Soviet bank notes which they have stockpiled in large quantities. In turn Soviet citizens arriving in Heihe from Blagoveshchensk are finding it virtually impossible to buy anything here.

"I'm afraid that we'll be in difficulties soon," the owner of a small store in the city center complained when talking to us. "People are saying that it will soon be very difficult for our Chinese tourists to travel to the Soviet Union. And Soviet tourists will also have big problems."

Like many of Heihe's residents, this trader regularly watches Soviet television. Although most of the city's residents have difficulty grasping the meaning of what happened and is happening in the Soviet Union, nevertheless they say delightedly that Gorbachev is back in Moscow.

How are things in Beijing? People there are undoubtedly keeping a particularly close eye on events in Moscow since they are perfectly well aware of the full significance of events in the Soviet Union for China. Needless to say, it is not only a question of the intelligentsia and the students. The Chinese leadership, initially reassured by the news about the coming to power of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency, is now calculating the consequences of the abortive putsch. The political defeat of the CPSU is the most important source of concern for the CPC's leaders. It is still not clear what interpretation rank-and-file Chinese Communists will be given about everything that has happened to the CPSU, but a great deal will depend on this. On the other hand, everything indicates that the conservative wing of the Chinese leadership has another incentive to attack reformers' positions so as to do away once and for all with their attempts at market experiments. The "fight against bourgeois liberalization" which has now been under way for two years will obviously be stepped up. It

is hard to tell what impact this will have above all on humanitarian contacts with the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister in Moscow

Saito Arrives for Talks

OW2808181191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1718 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As you may already know, the Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Saito arrived in Moscow yesterday, August 27. Later in the day he had talks with the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and Assistant to the Soviet President Anatoliy Chernyaev. Sources at the RSFSR Foreign Ministry say the Japanese diplomat met with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday, bringing along a personal message from Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. The parties discussed the future of Russian-Japanese relations. The Russian Foreign Ministry also said that the planned meeting between Mr. Saito and the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev may not take place due to the Soviet leader's tight work schedule.

The Pacific and Southeast Asia Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry has said that the question of whether President Gorbachev will meet with Mr. Saito or not hasn't been settled yet. The department's senior official expressed the hope that the meeting will take place in the end, the more so since Mr. Saito hasn't handed to Foreign Ministry officials Prime Minister Kaifu's personal message to President Gorbachev. Obviously, he intends to deliver the message personally. The Soviet diplomat said that among other things the Japanese official would seek to clear up the future of the Soviet Union and the pattern of relations between the central authorities and the republics.

He also said that at Mr. Saito's talks with Rogachev and Chernyaev the question of aid from Japan and the G-7 nations in general to the Soviet Union was not discussed in practical terms. The Soviet diplomat said he believes this question may be brought up at the Japanese deputy foreign minister's meeting with the USSR president, if it does take place.

On the eve of the London meeting (opening on August 29) of representatives of the G-7 heads of state Mr. Saito's mission looks particularly significant. In the context of the decay of Union structures Japan and the other six industrialized countries have doubts about who should they give aid to in the Soviet Union, if a decision to that effect is adopted. The diplomat believes that Mr. Saito's visit to Moscow is aimed at determining priority guidelines and projects to be funded.

The Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Saito's visit will continue until August 29.

Talks on Peace Treaty Set

OW2808042191 Tokyo KYODO in English 0329 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 27 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union agreed Tuesday to hold working-level talks possibly sometime next month to resolve differences over concluding a peace treaty, officials at the Japanese Embassy in Moscow said.

Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiro Saito and his Soviet counterpart Igor Rogachev also agreed to work out measures to promote bilateral exchanges on the Soviet-held four islands off Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost main island.

In the talks with Rogachev, Saito expressed Japan's full support for and cooperation with economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union.

He also stressed the importance of efforts on both sides to set up full-fledged relations under the new political situation, according to the officials.

In response, Rogachev pledged that Moscow will strive to fully implement the Japan-Soviet joint statement issued in April.

Japan and the Soviet Union have held eight rounds of working-level negotiations on a peace treaty but remain far apart over Japan's claim to the four islands seized by Soviet troops at the end of World War II.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev visited Tokyo in April and agreed with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu to accelerate the negotiations on a peace treaty.

Saito is scheduled to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday afternoon, the officials said.

Japan Discusses Increasing Humanitarian Aid

LD2808170291 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo Aug 28 TASS—Taking into account the changing situation in the Soviet Union after the abortive coup, the Japanese Government is discussing increasing humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union from 100 to 300 million U.S. dollars and apportioning it not only to Union structures, but also to republics, a Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS today.

Last December, Tokyo decided to give emergency assistance to the Soviet Union, mainly food, medicines and consumer goods. At the same time, the Japanese Government tied such aid with democratic reforms in the Soviet Union.

The NIHON KEIZAI newspaper notes today that the Japanese Government has decided to focus on aid to the Russian Federation, which occupies a key position in settling the territorial problem with Japan.

According to the spokesman, the amount and forms of aid to the Soviet Union can be officially determined only after the problem is discussed by G-7 representatives during their meeting in London.

South Korea Plans To Open Three Consulates

SK2908052091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Asian news from "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Kong No-myong, ROK ambassador to the Soviet Union, said that the ROK will establish three consular offices in the Soviet Union.

It is expected that the ROK will establish consular offices in Khabarovsk, Alma-Ata, where approximately 100,000 Koreans live, and Leningrad where a large number of Korean businessmen visit.

According to a report from YONHAP News Agency, an ROK Foreign Ministry delegation visited Moscow at the end of August to discuss the issue with the Soviet Union.

Kim Chong-il Asks Youths To Protect Socialism

SK2908051591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Asian news from "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Kim Chong-il, son of Kim Il-sung and member of the supreme leadership of the DPRK, has appealed to youths across the country to protect socialism.

According to the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY [KCNA], in connection with the 64th anniversary of the formation of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea [LSWYK], he sent a 29-page letter to this organization.

Kim Chong-il pointed out in his letter that for the young generation today, nothing is more important than protecting socialism from imperialists and reactionaries.

Nuclear Proliferation in DPRK Viewed

'Propaganda Duel' Viewed

SK2708072391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Commentary by Mikhail Popov]

[Text] If the United States and the ROK authorities are genuinely interested in turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, they should come to talks with the DPRK at an early date, said a DPRK Foreign Ministry statement released in Pyongyang.

Station commentator Mikhail Popov writes: The talks that have been conducted so far between the two sides of Korea bear a close resemblance to a propaganda duel.

Former ROK Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung recently said: Whenever we put forward some constructive proposals, the North, too, came up with new proposals. So, we have been countering the North's proposals with new ones accordingly.

It is because of such a scenario that the issue of converting the Korean peninsula into nuclear-free zone is now being discussed. However, the discussion has borne no specific fruit at all. Nevertheless, this issue now seems to have been moved from the propagandist realm to a business-like atmosphere. For example, this year Pyongyang declared that it will reopen talks with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] and that it will agree to an on-site inspection of nuclear facilities in its territory.

In the wake of this statement, an outline of the practical political interests have begun to show. Not only does Pyongyang expect to push for the settlement of the nuclear issue, but it may also be trying to demonstrate that it was actually responsive to the demand of the times.

Washington and Seoul, however, insisted that Pyongyang come up with practical measures to bear itself out. They wanted the North to guarantee that it would not go ahead with nuclear development.

Many people in the United States and the ROK believe that an affirmative settlement of this issue will lead to the discussion of the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the South. Consequently, they no longer treat Pyongyang's new proposals of last month the same as previous ones. Pyongyang has offered a proposal for converting the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

Seoul has gone so far as to state that it can discuss with the North the nuclear safety issue. This position of the South as such has been accepted affirmatively in the Pyongyang statement. This, too, gives us hope that talks between the two sides of Korea will become substantial.

Stance on Nuclear Inspection

SK2708000991 *Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean*
1100 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Commentary by station commentator Alekseyev]

[Text] According to the opinions of British experts, published in JANE'S INTELLIGENCE REVIEW, North Korea has everything needed for the production of nuclear weapons. However, ROK experts have different opinions. ROK experts stress that the DPRK has no plutonium necessary for the development of nuclear weapons.

In connection with this, station commentator Alekseyev writes as follows.

In reality, I would not like to discuss the possibility of North Korea's development of nuclear weapons because I do not have any correct information about it. Furthermore, this is because Pyongyang keeps all information on nuclear development strictly secret. This gravely concerns the ROK and other countries, including Asian and Pacific countries.

As is known, Pyongyang signed the international Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This treaty says that if the nations participating in the treaty have any nuclear facilities in their territories, they should accept the international inspection of them surely and unconditionally.

In 1990, Pyongyang held talks with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] to discuss the issue. This international organization conducts the nuclear inspection. According to the DPRK's proposal, however, the talks were suspended. What is the reason for this?

North Korea said that it would only accept the international inspection of its nuclear facilities with the simultaneous inspection of the U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in the ROK. The IAEA said this was not within its rights. Because of this, Pyongyang refused to continue talks with the IAEA.

Some time ago, the DPRK leadership officially announced that it was willing to resume talks with the IAEA. Pyongyang said once again, however, that the issue of conducting the inspection of nuclear facilities in DPRK territory should be resolved by linking the U.S. nuclear weapons in the ROK. Therefore, there are no changes in the DPRK's position. Instead, some time ago, Seoul expressed its willingness to discuss with Pyongyang all the issues related to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, including the issue of the U.S. nuclear weapons in the ROK. In addition, Seoul said that the United States authorized it to discuss the issue with Pyongyang. Therefore, there is no reason for Pyongyang to give up the talks. The ultimate goal of the talks is to synthetically settle the issue of the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, because Pyongyang has asserted this kind of settlement for a long time.

To my regret, Pyongyang has not yet responded to Seoul's proposal. However, I believe, Pyongyang will constructively respond to it.

Near East & South Asia

Belonogov Interviewed on Mideast Situation

Discusses Mideast Issues

OW2708160591 *Moscow INTERFAX in English*
1505 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev: "USSR After the Abortive Coup d'Etat:

Approach to the Gulf and Middle East Problems Basically Unchanged (Exclusive Interview of the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister)"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow's policy towards Iraq has remained unchanged, much to the latter's disappointment. The events of August 19-21 somewhat slowed down but did not stop Soviet diplomatic activities in connection with the preparation for a Middle East peace conference. Mikhail Gorbachev has just had a message from Yasir 'Arafat congratulating him on the restoration of law and order in the Soviet Union. The Middle East peace conference planned for October may coincide with the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. Such are the main points of an exclusive interview given to a DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, Aleksandr Belonogov.

Baghdad's Hopes Ruined.

The essence of Soviet policy towards Iraq has not changed and will definitely remain unchanged, said Belonogov. This might not be the case, however, had the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union come off, something Baghdad clearly hoped for, for it rejoiced at the news of the coup. The Iraqi leaders were quite open about their hopes that the Soviet Union would go back to its pre-perestroika positions and change its policy towards Iraq. They expected that the Soviet Union's relations with the West would undergo a change, which is why Moscow would take a different stand vis-a-vis Baghdad.

The Soviet Union will insist that Iraq unconditionally and accurately fulfill the demands of the world community formulated in Security Council Resolution 687, and will act accordingly. The Soviet Union voted for the three latest resolutions on Iraq and the issue of settlement in the Gulf in general, and is determined to continue this policy, said Belonogov. Preparations for the peace conference continued.

Speaking about the solution of the Middle East problem as a whole, Belonogov said that the Soviet Union was not going to make any changes in its policy on it, including its attitude to a peace conference. He did not think the conference would be postponed, but Palestinian participation in it was still problematical. The recent events in the Soviet Union, the fact that the USSR has no foreign minister at the moment (Belonogov hopes it will before too long) have somewhat slowed down Soviet diplomatic activity. Nevertheless, there have been new diplomatic contacts, such as the negotiations Belonogov has just had in Beijing.

Moscow Interested in China's Position.

In Beijing, Belonogov had consultations on the Middle East problem which had been planned before. Serious attention was paid to the situation in the Gulf, in particular the situation in Iraq and the entire Iraq issue. The Soviet positions in these matters do not differ from the Chinese ones. Beijing believes that the unanimity of

the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council is indispensable to prevent any new aggression in the region.

China is one of the five permanent members, which is why the Soviet Union cannot ignore its position on a Middle East peace conference, Belonogov said. At the moment, China takes no part in the preparations for it, nor is it going to participate in the conference itself, but it is by no means impossible that there will be a large-scale conference in future in which all five permanent members will take part.

Minister's Trip Still Necessary.

The plan to send the Soviet Foreign Minister to the Middle East has not been abandoned, Belonogov said, but he did not know when exactly the trip was going to take place. He still believes such a trip is essential, for the contacts the minister would make in the course of it would serve to remove the last obstacles to the convocation of the conference. As a deputy foreign minister whose field is the Middle East problem, he is going to advise the new foreign minister, whoever it is, to take such a trip. This is important not only for the Soviet Union but also for the Middle Eastern countries.

What Is 'Arafat's Position?

As regards the stance taken by the PLO leadership on the events in the Soviet Union, one gets the impression that the statement expressing support for the coup was made by its left radical wing, which may have shared the hopes of the Baghdad leaders. As for 'Arafat himself, his spokesmen insist that he did not make a single statement between August 19 and 21 on the events in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev has just had a message from 'Arafat expressing the latter's rejoicing over the restoration of law and order in the USSR, Belonogov added.

Diplomatic Relations To Be Restored in October?

Belonogov appreciated the Israeli Government's position on the events in the Soviet Union. As he put it, their negative attitude to the coup "did not undermine the possibility of the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries". Moscow still holds that this should depend on the beginning of a peace process in the Middle East, more specifically on the peace conference to be held in October. The two events may coincide in time, Belonogov believes.

Says Date Not Set for Mideast Trip

OW2608223291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2052 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel is linked directly with the beginning of the peace process in the Middle East and the peace conference, scheduled for October. The Soviet Deputy

Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov has said that these two events "may coincide".

The question of the Soviet foreign minister's trip to the Middle East remains on the agenda, Belonogov said, however, it's hard to tell when it may take place.

Policy Toward Iraq Remains Unchanged

OW2608210291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Iraqi policy of the Soviet Union has not and will not change, even though such a possibility could not be ruled out had the coup attempt in the USSR succeeded, deputy foreign minister of the USSR Mr. Aleksandr Belonogov said in an exclusive IF [INTERFAX] interview.

The Soviet Union will continue efforts, he stressed, to compel Iraq to meet unconditionally the demands voiced by the international community in the UN Security Council Resolution 687.

Speaking about problems of the Middle East settlement in general, Mr. Belonogov said no new shifts in the Soviet approach are to be expected, including the Soviet position on the convening of a regional peace conference. The situation we are facing now, in particular the absence of a new Soviet foreign minister for the time being, has somewhat slowed down this process, he said.

Mr. Belonogov said a proposed trip by a Soviet foreign minister to the Middle East would not be out of the agenda, even though at the moment it was hard to discuss specific dates for the trip.

He praised Israel for its stand toward the recent events in the Soviet Union, pointing to Israel's emphatic disapproval of the coup plot. According to Mr. Belonogov, the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel depends directly on the start of a settlement process in the Middle East, i.e. on a peace conference scheduled for October. Incidentally, these two events may coincide, Mr. Belonogov stressed.

For more details see Mr. A. Belonogov's interview to an IF correspondent in today's edition of "Diplomatic Panorama".

Israeli Official Links Reforms, Mideast Peace

OW2308180591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1639 GMT 23 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The restoration of constitutional rule and the continuation of the profound democratic reforms in the Soviet Union will facilitate a speedy resolution to conflict in the Near East, stated the head of the Israeli

Consulate General in the USSR, Joseph ben-Dor, in an interview with a "DP" ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent. We hope that the coup in the Soviet Union will not affect the calling of a conference for the settlement of the Near East issue, he said.

The diplomat said that naturally Israel, as a free and democratic state, supports the democratic path chosen by the Soviet Union. Mr. Ben-Dor expressed regret that certain elements in the Near East opposed to democracy and freedom welcomed the Soviet coup. He stated his conviction that the triumph of democracy and liberalism in the Soviet Union ensures the continuation and perhaps even the radicalisation of Soviet foreign policy. The process of the complete normalisation of Soviet-Israeli relations will now proceed at a fast rate and may soon reach completion, he said.

PLO Official on Democratic Transformations

OW2308181291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1639 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Palestinian public opinion fully supports the democratic transformations under way in the Soviet Union, reported the state of Palestine's ambassador to the USSR, Nabil Amir. In an exclusive interview with "DP" ["Diplomatic Panorama"] he emphasized that these transformations will facilitate a settlement to the Near East issue. The stabilization of the situation in the Soviet Union is in the interests of the peoples of the Near East, said the ambassador. Mr. Amir rejected suggestions that the leadership of the PLO welcomed the Soviet coup d'etat.

Commenting on these suggestions, Ambassador Amir stressed that he represented the official organs of the PLO, and Yasir 'Arafat personally, in the Soviet Union. "I was not happy with some of the statements made by certain Palestinian leaders and organisations. They do not reflect the official position of the PLO", said the ambassador.

The ambassador affirmed that following the collapse of the coup conditions were favourable for the calling of an international conference on the Near East and a settlement of Palestinian problems. In his view, the new situation strengthens the position of those powers in the Near East that support a positive settlement based on a just balance of interests, and are taking effective steps towards such an end.

According to the ambassador, the PLO and Yasir 'Arafat support constant contact with the Soviet leadership and with President Gorbachev. Mr. Amir noted that the president of the USSR has been in agreement with all of Mr. 'Arafat's initiatives and that the same policies would be continued.

CPSU Gave Saddam Husayn 3 Billion Rubles*LD2808223991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2026 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[From the "Television News Service" Program]

[Text] Iraqi President Saddam Husayn was receiving money from the CPSU—this allegation appeared today in the Moscow newspaper KURANTIY. According to the newspaper report, a document with proof of transfer of an enormous sum of money to the Iraqi regime through the party channels was found in a car that was attempting to drive out of the CPSU Central Committee's compound on Old Square. The sum in question is 3 billion convertible rubles.

Commentary Views Arab Reaction to Coup Attempt*LD2308205791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1600 GMT 23 Aug 91*

[From "Window on the Arab World" program; commentary by Aleksandr Timoshkin]

[Excerpt] Dear listeners, Radio Moscow presents to you its weekly "Window on the Arab World" program. It was prepared today by commentator Aleksandr Timoshkin, who shares with you his views on the most important events of last week, which are related, by one degree or another, to the issues of the Middle East and the Arab states. The commentator starts his talk by dealing with the latest events in the Soviet Union, which shook the whole world. By this, the commentator means the rebellion of the Soviet [word indistinct] personalities who tried to remove President Gorbachev from power and reestablish the authoritarian regime in our country.

The reactions in the Arab countries to the rebellion were inhomogenous. It can be definitely said today that the Arab leaders, in their majority, supported the structures of the constitutional authority in the Soviet Union as well as the president of the country, Mikhail Gorbachev. This was clearly shown by the messages of congratulations which Gorbachev received from the leaders of all the Arab countries—apart from Iraq and Libya. These two states, or more accurately, their media—what are the reasons for their stance?

Baghdad, for instance, was trying to pierce the ring of international isolation by helping the Soviet conspirators and was trying to resume its extremist political line. The papers published in Baghdad did not find anything better to say than the following: President Gorbachev is a Zionist and an agent of American imperialism. [passage omitted]

King Husayn Hails Soviet Role in Peace Process*LD2808122791 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[By Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna Aug 28 TASS—The Soviet Union will continue to play an important role in solving problems connected with the convocation of international Middle East peace conference under the United Nation's auspices and with the support of the two great powers. The recent events have not changed anything in this sense. King Husayn of Jordan said here on Tuesday in an interview with the Austrian Broadcasting Company ERF and APA news agency.

King Husayn arrived in the Austrian capital today for a brief visit during which he met, and conducted negotiations with, Austrian Federal President Kurt Waldheim. The problems of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf were the focus of attention during the conversation between the heads of state.

Referring to prospects of convening a Middle East peace conference involving both Israelis and Palestinians, King Husayn emphasized that provocative pronouncements can hardly help resolve the problem. He confirmed his readiness to form a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to participate in the forum. Husayn said the Middle East situation continues to deteriorate. A sharp aggravation of the refugee problem has developed as a consequence of the war in the Gulf.

The Austrian president expressed satisfaction over the opportunity to settle the Middle East problem. True, many details connected with the convocation of a peace conference, like the composition of the Palestinian delegation, have not yet been settled, he said in an interview with ERF and APA. Besides, the conference can hardly find ways to solve specific problems so there should be no illusions about its success. Nevertheless, the Middle East initiative deserves to be positively appraised as the further existence of a vacuum is dangerous, Waldheim said.

Minister Discusses Oil Cooperation With Jordan*JN2308155491 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1400 GMT 23 Aug 91*

[Text] Salambek Naibovich Khadzhiyev, Soviet minister of chemical and petroleum processing industry, has hailed the wisdom of His Majesty King Husayn and Jordan's effective role toward the realization of peace and stability in the Middle East. The minister stated this during his meeting with Dr. Muhammad al-Adwan, Jordan's ambassador to the Soviet Union, in Moscow today.

The talks dealt with bilateral relations of cooperation, especially in the field of oil exploration. The possibility of Soviet participation in the processing of oil and petroleum byproducts in Jordan was also discussed.

Envoy Kozyrev Reports on Islamabad Talks

91UF1099A Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Aug 91
p 3

[Interview with roving ambassador N.I. Kozyrev by correspondent E. Alekseyev; place and date not given: "Afghanistan: When Will There Be Peace?"]

[Text] A USSR Foreign Ministry delegation spent two days—11 and 12 August—in Islamabad. It conducted negotiations on problems which do not cease to profoundly disturb Soviet people—a peaceful settlement in neighboring Afghanistan and the release of Soviet POW's. A TRUD correspondent met with the head of the delegation, N.I. Kozyrev, ambassador for special assignments, and asked him to describe what the negotiations dealt with specifically.

[Kozyrev] It is understandable, I believe, what significance is attached to Pakistan's position in the overall process of a political settlement in Afghanistan inasmuch as it is from Pakistani territory that the most active military assistance continues to be rendered the Afghan opposition. Thus following the withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan, we conducted active negotiations on questions of a settlement with the American side, with the Iranians and, particularly, with the United Nations. But until recently there were only episodic meetings with the Pakistanis. Only at the end of this May did comprehensive consultations begin in Moscow with the two sides at expert level on questions of a settlement in Afghanistan.

Our trip to Islamabad was a continuation of them. Meetings took place at the highest level—with Ghulam Ishaq Khan, president of the country, and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. But the main negotiations were at foreign ministry level.

[Alekseyev] What degree of agreement or disagreement was revealed in the course of the negotiations?

[Kozyrev] The Pakistani side assured us that it supported the principles set forth in the statement of the UN secretary general and published on 21 May. It should be emphasized that they had preliminarily been coordinated with such countries directly concerned or "involved" as the USSR, the United States, and Pakistan and also Iran and Saudi Arabia.

On the basis of these principles we concentrated the discussion on two main questions. First, concerning the need, finally, for the initiation of an inter-Afghan dialogue. We profoundly believe that this is the key to a solution of the problem. While agreeing with this, the Pakistanis referred to the main difficulty—the absolute unwillingness of the mujahidin to even talk with the present government of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Second, concerning the kind of transitional period there should be for the preparation and organization of elections and the formation of a new government. The

manifest endeavor of one party even prior to the elections to remove from the political scene the other party—the present Afghan Government—is once again showing through here also, unfortunately. But it has already been shown by blood and enormous mutual casualties that nothing can be solved here by either force or subterfuge. Consequently, dialogue is needed here also, and it is necessary that the Afghans themselves come to some arrangement.

Now concerning such a complex problem, perhaps, as a cease-fire and a termination of military operations generally. There are, in fact, two issues here: a cease-fire and a halt to arms supplies to Afghanistan. Our position is that these two issues need to be settled in a "package." Separating them is impossible.

Serious differences in view were revealed here also. As yet only the USSR and the United States have declared their agreement in principle to halt arms supplies. Neither Pakistan nor Saudi Arabia are yet speaking clearly about their readiness to halt military assistance. This is not only greatly regrettable but emphasizes once again the need for, precisely, a comprehensive solution to the problem.

[Alekseyev] One has the impression that many doubts of all kinds and some quantity of common desires were expressed at the negotiations, but that it was not possible to arrive at specific solutions in practice. How under these conditions would you evaluate the results of your trip as a whole?

[Kozyrev] It is important that, compared with the May meeting, progress was undoubtedly made. At that time the parties simply set forth their positions to one another. Now things are different—we have obtained firm assurances of a desire to work with us at all levels. The negotiations were conducted in a good atmosphere. The Pakistani side clearly evinced a desire to contribute in every way possible to a political settlement in Afghanistan.

[Alekseyev] It is known that you met in Islamabad with the mujahidin. Was this the first official contact with them? What did it produce?

[Kozyrev] The first contact with the mujahidin was in 1988. But this was then really only a contact. The first dialogue has now taken place, however. The meeting was very interesting. On the part of the mujahidin it was conducted by N. Mohammadi, a leader of the moderates, who heads the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan Movement grouping. There were representatives of other groupings, Sunni and Shi'ite, also.

Unfortunately, our positions are poles apart as yet. The mujahidin's position is considerably tougher than that of the Pakistanis. Their main demand is the resignation of the Kabul government. We, for our part, said: Your attitude toward this government is your affair, but we have extensive political and economic relations and treaties with and commitments to it. Our position is that

we want to see an end to the war and you sitting down at the negotiating table and reaching an agreement with the other side. We see no other way.

As a result we mutually agreed that the meeting was useful and frank. They said that they were prepared to continue to talk with us.

[Alekseyev] And was the fate of our POW's discussed?

[Kozyrev] Yes, this issue, both very painful for all of us and very complex, was at the center of our attention. As far as the Pakistani side is concerned, it had helped us earlier also in the release of our servicemen. And during our visit to Islamabad the mujahidin handed over to us, as you know, serviceman Kurban Ali Tashrifov. At the handover ceremony I told the mujahidin that, yes, this was a good-will gesture on their part, a humane act. But not a gift. After all, they were in response receiving 25 of their people from Kabul.

We said, generally, that this was a purely humane process. The Soviet forces have left, the war for the Soviet Union has ended, and if there are other people of ours, they should be given an opportunity to return. Some other principles may be found, but not in exchange for people who are in Kabul, in a proportion of 1:25, even less.

The Pakistanis, on the other hand, said that they would continue to be ready to help us in this respect, but that there were no prisoners on their territory. They are with the mujahidin, on Afghan territory.

The mujahidin, for their part, said that they would continue to talk with us about POW's.

[Alekseyev] And do we know how many the mujahidin have?

[Kozyrev] No. They are concealing the figures. We have, however, information about 12 persons, who have been able to initiate a correspondence, with Red Cross mediation, with their families. We are working on the release of their people primarily.

We are continuing to work perseveringly on ascertaining how many POW's are still alive and where they are located. We are being helped here by various departments, the public and mothers and families of the POW's. Many thanks to them! It is very important that everyone operate in the same key, I would say. When this is not the case and when some rivalry, confrontation even, emerges, this is a great hindrance.

Summing up our discussion, I would like to emphasize that it is now possible to affirm the common aspiration of all parties involved in a search for practicable paths of a settlement in Afghanistan. There have been practical contacts. Specific quantitative elements, which must inevitably grow into qualitative changes, have begun to accumulate. And this instills a certain optimism.

West Europe

Major Outlines Hopes for Gorbachev Meeting

OW2808180091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1718 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The British Prime Minister John Major, arriving in Moscow on September 1 on a short working visit, will meet with President Mikhail Gorbachev to discuss in the first place the situation in the Soviet Union. The British Premier is likely to be interested in measures the USSR leadership has been taking to fight the effects of the dramatic events of August 19 through 21.

British officials are interested in the analysis of the situation in the USSR not only for political reasons. The second European department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry has told IF [INTERFAX] that it is important for London to have an idea of the shape, essence and thrust of the Soviet economic reform. The British leaders believe it makes no sense giving any financial aid to the Soviet Union before they have a clear idea of what the reforms are about.

As for political support, at his talks with John Major President Gorbachev is likely to thank London for its position taken throughout the 72 hours of the coup. It was the British Premier who told the U.S. President George Bush that in his view there had been an unconstitutional coup and suggested presenting a common front. The former British Premier, Mrs. Thatcher, too, took resolute action throughout the three days of the coup in a bid to contact President Gorbachev by telephone. Mrs. Thatcher was the first to suggest forming an independent medical inquiry to examine the Soviet president's condition. Observers in Moscow say a certain role was played by the several years of friendly relations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher.

It is not ruled out that after the staff of the Soviet Embassy in London have in effect brought in a vote of no confidence in the current ambassador Leonid Zamyatin, the appointment of a new ambassador to Britain will be timed for the British Premier's visit to Moscow. The USSR Foreign Ministry has confirmed that on the first day of the coup, August 19, Leonid Zamyatin read out to the embassy staff the decree issued by the coup leaders. In response a group of diplomats, including senior ones, opposed the unconstitutional removal of a legally elected president from office. Some of them let their attitude known to the mass media.

Gorbachev Thanks Delors for Support

LD2808190391 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 28 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev late on Wednesday had a short phone conversation with Jacques Delors, president of the Commission of the European Community.

Gorbachev expressed gratitude to Delors for his decisive support for democratic forces in the Soviet Union at the crucial moment.

He said the situation is difficult in the country but a great opportunity is opening for carrying out radical reforms in all spheres of life. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union hopes for understanding on the part of the European Community and Jacques Delors.

Delors reiterated the European Community's intention to do everything possible to provide food and technological aid to the Soviet Union. Delors said he will send his representative to Moscow to discuss specific issues.

Envoy to Sweden Assailed for Coup Support

91UF1103A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91
Union Edition p 5

[By M. Zubko: "Test of Conscience for Diplomats"]

[Text] Stockholm—When on Tuesday 20 August Swedish television transmitted news that B. Pankin, ambassador of the USSR in Czechoslovakia, had dissociated himself from the organizers of the coup in the Soviet Union and declared his loyalty to the government of USSR President M. Gorbachev, many Swedes evaluated on merit this action of a man who had for several years represented our country in Sweden.

I am sure his statement had an effect not only on the Swedes, but also on Soviet people working overseas.

Unfortunately N. Uspenskiy, the present ambassador of the Soviet Union in Sweden, was unable to follow the example of his predecessor. In addition, a series of his interviews for the local press have evoked the outright perplexity of the Swedish public.

It all began with a brief interview given to a correspondent of the TT telegraph office. "Do you support Gorbachev today?" the journalist asked. But... "Uspenskiy declined to answer this question," the note says. We are talking about 20 August.

On 21 August the newspaper DAGENS NYHETER published an interview with the ambassador of the USSR from which we learn that N. Uspenskiy had requested a meeting with Swedish Prime Minister I. Carlsson to present to him the appeal of coup leader Yanayev. But the Swedes, by all accounts, immediately realized what the situation was and "dropped" our ambassador down to P. Shori, general secretary of the foreign ministry. It was he who received the appeal.

To the question of whether he was disappointed that I. Carlsson had not wanted to meet with him, the USSR ambassador replied, as DAGENS NYHETER maintains, that this was of no particular significance, the main thing being that the Swedish Government had received this document.

In his explanation, the newspaper writes, the USSR ambassador highlighted two points in the statement of the "new leadership": It promises to continue the policy of reforms and has declared the invariability of the Soviet Union's foreign policy course.

"Like the new leaders also, the ambassador says that the measures which were adopted were essential in the situation which had taken shape in the USSR," the newspaper quotes the ambassador. The newspaper also published the interview with the Soviet representative under the following heading: "Ambassador Uspenskiy Defends Measures of New Leadership." New leadership meaning, of course, the putschists headed by Yanayev.

But this is still not all. The next day, 22 August, yet another lengthy interview with the USSR ambassador appeared in another Swedish newspaper, SVENSKA DAGBLADET, in which he was more definite. To the question of—"Was this a coup?"—N. Uspenskiy answered as follows:

"No. What happened was, from the legal standpoint, a legitimate transfer of power. This was not some junta which emerged from nowhere. On the contrary, power was taken by people who were already part of the country's leadership and who are well known to Soviet citizens."

In a preface to this interview the newspaper notes with astonishment that at midday on 21 August the ambassador had had an opportunity to familiarize himself with the text prepared for the presses and that he could have inserted his corrections, but did not do so.

Finally on 22 August Swedish television obtained an interview with Uspenskiy. Having screened texts of his statements in the papers and having heard out the ambassador's statement that he was pleased with the outcome of events and proud of the people and of Gorbachev, the interviewer asked how in this case he explained his previous statements in support of the conspirators. The ambassador cited the fact that he had at this time received "one-sided information." But B. Pankin in Prague obviously also had only the same information; the interviewer voiced his doubts. It is possible that he knew more than I—that was all the ambassador of the Soviet Union could say.

Comments? Are they necessary?

Ambassador to Britain Recalled for 'Consultation'*LD2808180391 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1715 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[By Sarah Womack and James Hardy, PRESS ASSOCIATION political staff]

[Text] The Soviet ambassador to Britain, Leonid Zamyatin, is to return to Moscow for "consultation". He would return "maybe tomorrow, maybe Friday" at the request of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Soviet Embassy in London said tonight. The recall was "nothing dramatic". It could be connected with Mr. Major's visit to Moscow on Sunday to meet President Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, a spokesman said. "It is usual diplomatic practice to have occasional consultations with ambassadors, especially in the aftermath of major political upheavals like the one which took place last week."

Mr. Zamyatin was seen as a hardliner and although he was swift in issuing a statement welcoming the end of the coup there is speculation that he is being withdrawn permanently.

Asked if he was being replaced, the embassy spokesman said: "These are just rumours. I can only confirm that he is flying at the invitation of the foreign ministry and he will come back after a few days."

It is thought the move may coincide with the recall of other Soviet ambassadors in Europe who were seen as too willing to support the line of the coup leaders.

Mr. Zamyatin became ambassador to Britain in May 1986 after a long and influential career close to the heart of Soviet politics. Although dour in manner, he was known for occasional flashes of acid wit. Some observers believe he was posted to London to remove him from a position of influence in Moscow at a time when Mr. Gorbachev was attempting to establish a power base. During his time in London he has been careful to preach the gospel of reform, but has never quite convinced many seasoned Soviet-watchers of his sincerity. Through most of the 1970's he was director-general of the TASS news agency, at that time little more than a mouthpiece for the Soviet regime. He also acted as spokesman for a number of Soviet leaders from Khrushchev onwards.

The message to emerge from the Soviet Embassy in London at the "happy resolution" of the coup last Wednesday was notable for its enthusiasm for reform. It said: "The so-called State Emergency Committee has ceased to exist. Democracy and the people have emerged victorious. Constitutional foundations and law are being re-established in the country. The Soviet diplomats in the UK welcome the renewal of democratic freedoms in the USSR. We wish to express our sincere gratitude to all officials and citizens of the UK for their solidarity with the Soviet people during these trying and dramatic times."

During the coup, however, Mr. Zamyatin was prepared to back the junta when he was summoned to the Foreign Office to be told of Britain's disapproval. After seeing Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, he told reporters the action was "in complete accordance with article 127 of the Soviet Constitution and the law on the extraordinary situation in the Soviet Union". He was also quite prepared to repeat the claim of the coup leaders that Mr. Gorbachev had stepped down due to illness. "He is staying in the Crimea. He is a little bit tired from many things which have happened ... and he needs a little bit to relax," he said.

Reportage on Honecker; Possible Extradition**KGB Claims No Responsibility***LD2808213991 Berlin ADN in German 1322 GMT
27 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The Soviet secret service KGB has rejected any responsibility for the stay of Erich Honecker, the former chief of Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in the Soviet Union. The head of the public relations department, General Aleksandr Karbaynov, told ADN today that his department "never had anything to do with Honecker's move to the Soviet Union." Therefore the KGB sees no reason to state its position with regard to the demands for Honecker's extradition.

Reports stating that Honecker is now staying in a Soviet Defense Ministry sanatorium in the Georgian Black Sea resort of Batumi have in the meantime been neither confirmed nor denied by the director of this establishment, following an inquiry. The Russian leadership also declined to state its position on the possible extradition of Honecker to Germany. In response to an ADN inquiry today, it was said that an official reaction will only be given from the Russian side if the federal government makes a corresponding demand.

Honecker's Lawyer Predicts Extradition*LD2708141791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] The lawyer for Erich Honecker, former leader of the GDR, who is currently in our country, stated to journalists that his client could be handed over to the German authorities as early as next week. Honecker, who recently turned 79, is accused in Germany of giving the order to fire on fugitives to the West during his time in power.

Reportage on Possible Extradition of Blake**Extradition of Blake to UK Denied***LD2808222691*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian, in its "Television News Service" program at 2026 GMT on 28 August, carries a 2 minute report by correspondent L. Lashenko from

KGB headquarters in the Lubyanka. She interviews A.N. Karabainov, head of the KGB public relations center who denies rumors on Lefortovo prison being refurbished during the coup—or in any way being prepared for receiving a new wave of political prisoners.

Asked to comment on a "sensational" report in the British DAILY EXPRESS about the possible extradition of spy George Blake, Karabainov says—"The newspaper DAILY EXPRESS which has published an interview with comrade Stepashin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and Security Issues, reports that he has allegedly said that George Blake, the well-known spy, could be extradited to Britain to serve his remaining prison sentence. As far as I know, Comrade Stepashin has prepared a denial and has sent his denial to this newspaper, in which he says that this question has not been examined and no decisions were taken on it."

The video shows clips of Blake at his home in Moscow.

KGB Denies Reports

OW2708144691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An official of the USSR KGB's Public Relations Center has denied the reports of western media about the possible deportation of George Blake to Britain. He told IF [INTERFAX] that this was "misinformation."

George Blake was one of the most efficient Soviet spies who worked in the British secret services for many years. Caught and convicted for life in the early 1960's, he soon escaped from a London prison in a manner which the newspapers called "fantastic", and settled down in the Soviet Union.

KGB Says Paper 'Distorted' Remarks

OW2808124691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1122 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following the report in the British DAILY EXPRESS that the chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Committee for Security Sergey Stepashin allegedly spoke of the possibility of extraditing the former Soviet spy George Blake to Britain, the public relations center of the USSR KGB has stated that Stepashin's words were distorted. Besides, he was mistakenly called the deputy chairman of the Russian KGB.

According to a press release of the center, in reality Sergey Stepashin said: As for KGB bodies and concrete persons, there will be an appropriate decision of the commission investigating KGB activities at the time of the coup."

George Blake is a Soviet spy who worked in the British special services for many years, was exposed and sentenced to imprisonment for life. However, he managed to escape from prison and settled in the USSR.

Supreme Soviet**'Special Session' Continues Proceedings 28 August****Session Reviewed**

*LD2808171291 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT
28 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The Soviet parliament this morning approved the draft resolution on President Mikhail Gorbachev's report about the situation in the country following the failed coup d'etat. It was decided that all additions, amendments and changes should be submitted in writing to the editing commission which will summarize and submit them to the parliament for the final approval.

The leader of the Russian Communist Party, Valentin Kuptsov, then told the parliament that his party and its leadership had nothing to do with the coup or working out and implementing plans for it. He stressed that "although members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee took part in the coup, neither its politburo, nor the secretariat, nor the party central committee, to say nothing about local party committees organised that work". Biased information that is being spread in society now, Kuptsov said, can affect the fates of millions of people. According to him, rank-and-file communists are already beleaguered by not only moral but also physical terror.

In response to requests from many deputies, Anatoliy Lukyanov, suspended from the performance of his duties as the parliament speaker, addressed the session. He said he "was not and could not be a plotter, still less the ideologue of the conspiracy". Lukyanov asked for a thorough and impartial investigation of all charges against him and his human dignity be protected.

Participants in the special session of the Soviet parliament decided to send a number of people's deputies to Kiev to take part in talks between representatives of the Ukrainian leadership and representatives of the Russian leadership.

Relations between the two largest Soviet republics became complicated after the publication on August 26 of a statement by a spokesman for the president of the Russian Federation. The statement says Russia retains the right to raise the question of revising its borders with neighbouring republics, except the three Baltic states, which proclaimed their independence.

The Ukraine incorporates some districts that are populated mostly by Russians. These disputable districts include the Crimea. The head of the Ukrainian parliament Leonid Kravchuk said on Tuesday "territorial claims are very dangerous and are very dangerous and are fraught with major complications for people."

Kuptsov Denies RSFSR Party Coup Role

*LD2808103491 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 0749 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Statement by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Valentin Kuptsov at a 28 August extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Respected comrade deputies, respected Presidium: I have insisted on making a short statement in connection with the fact that we are starting and will work on drawing up a very important resolution that affects the destiny of millions of people. As an official and a member of the CPSU Secretariat, and as first secretary of the Russian Communist Party, I wish to state officially to our entire society, to you, and to the world that the Communist Party and its leadership did not—as a political organization—have any connection with the plot nor the elaboration of plans nor the implementation of such plans, although members of the party Central Committee did participate in it. Neither the Politburo, nor the Secretariat, nor the party Central Committee—even less the party committees in the localities—were engaged specifically in the organization of this work. In actual fact, for the past 18 months they have been kept away from any kind of participation in the elaboration of major political decisions.

From the first hours of 19 August, the Secretariat demanded an explanation of the situation, a meeting with Comrade Gorbachev, the CPSU general secretary, and consideration of the situation that had taken shape in the Supreme Soviet. As for practical activities, we set ourselves the task in these extremely difficult days in history of not permitting bloodshed, confrontation, and extremism, of ensuring public order together with the local soviets, and of acting only within the framework of the Constitution and laws.

The telegram that actually was accepted, as a number of comrades demonstrated here yesterday, was a part of the whole telegram. It did not contain the second point, which states that practical work is guided only by the Constitution and laws. There was a third phrase dealing with the forthcoming plenum. I asked for and insisted on speaking, because the incorrect information that is prevailing in society today affects the destiny of millions of people. Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev, not only has moral terror begun and is underway against ordinary communists, but there is also physical terror. I would like to shift the blame from the millions in the army of communists who did not have any relation to the organization of the this plot and who even less participated in this affair. I ask you to understand this, since we will be drawing up a very important resolution.

Sobchak Urges Talks With Ukraine

LD2808124791 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 0737 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Statement by Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet, at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues! I regard what is happening today as an attempt to disrupt the emergency congress of people's deputies. Three working days are left until the beginning of the congress, and what is being done today is an attempt to disrupt normal preparations for the congress as well as the attempt by the Supreme Soviet to contribute to the stabilization of the situation. Therefore, I propose:

That we now put an end to the discussion of that question.

That we adopt in principle the resolution proposed by us to the Electoral Commission and that we then let the commission work on the amendments and additions which should be made to it in written form, working with every deputy, and let the questions that still remain be brought to the session and, even if we have to meet all night, we must then examine all the amendments, which may be of any nature, and adopt, in keeping with the standing orders, the relevant resolution.

That we should immediately go to the next issue on the agenda and remember that the country and history are expecting from us today our main task—that we should not permit the spontaneous disintegration of the Union power structures. This is the main thing. From this point of view it would perhaps be important for us to discuss now the issue of the creation of a special commission of the Supreme Soviet and sending it for talks with the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. This is a much more important issue today than all of these discussions about the CPSU and so on.

Decrees by the presidents, both of Russia and the Union, exist already and they are being implemented. So let us not waste today in fruitless discussion of those questions that do not present a danger of the disintegration of the Union. What is happening today, and the statements which have begun in mutual relations between the Ukrainian and the Russian leadership, present a danger of the involuntary, spontaneous, and uncontrolled disintegration of the Union.

We must contribute to the stabilization of the situation and begin talks immediately with the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

Lukyanov Defends Actions

LD2808122391 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 0806 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Statement by Anatoliy Lukyanov, suspended chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at 28 August extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session held in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] I have received a number of memos from deputies, and so I will try to give a direct reply in my address to these memos and questions. I will probably need about 15 minutes, Ivan Dmitriyevich.

[Laptev] All right, I don't think the session will object.

[Lukyanov] Esteemed deputies. Five days ago I made a statement to the country's president and to the Supreme Soviet on my resignation, which was accepted by you. I ask again that the accusations made against me, which I reject, be thoroughly investigated without preconception, and that my human dignity be protected. At the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium which have been held, in the press, on the radio, and on television, and several times here at this session, a storm of accusations, reproaches, and even threats has erupted on my head. Well, these accusations and threats, these reprimands, are legitimate: the chairman is responsible for the work of Parliament. What epithets have not been used here? Grey eminence, criminal, political hypocrite, Pontius Pilate, conman, whatever you will. There is clearly no point in trying to prove anything, let alone justify myself, in such an atmosphere.

Yet I have to say, looking you straight in the eyes, that I was not, and could not be, a conspirator, still less the ideological inspiration of the conspiracy as they have tried to state here.

I was recalled from vacation and arrived in Moscow late in the evening of 18 August, that is to say when the coup had already been carried out, and the president deprived of the possibility of contacting the country and the world. I had to tell the plotters immediately that as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I had no intention of taking part in the work of the committee they had set up, and certainly not of signing any of its documents whatsoever. Let them show me just one document of the committee bearing my signature or my stamp. There simply are no such documents.

I told the plotters right away that their undertaking was a piece of irresponsible adventurism, that this was a plot of the doomed—I am using the words I used then—a plot of the doomed, that could cause a civil war, a broad wave of anti-communism, that it could strengthen the trends toward the collapse of the Union, and cause serious damage to our foreign policy. We have seen this happen.

I repeated this evaluation of the actions of the plotters twice. If they have the least conscience they will confirm what I am saying.

The Constitution and Soviet laws do not provide for any State Committee for a State of Emergency [SCSE], and a state of emergency itself can only be introduced throughout the country by the USSR Supreme Soviet. This was my position from the very beginning and throughout the whole crisis. It was reflected in the decree of the president of Russia of 20 August. You have that decree. It says—I quote—that the talks held by the leaders of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] with Lukyanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who in essence distanced himself from the so-called SCSE of the USSR, confirm the anti-constitutional nature of the formation and actions of that committee.

The press cites my statement on the draft Union treaty published on 19 August. I do not at all disavow this document. But I want to stress again and again that this statement, which repeats almost word for word the view of the Supreme Soviet that I wrote on 16 August in answer to an appeal by deputies, did not and does not have anything to do with the call for the introduction of a state of emergency.

Today, too, I am convinced that there is a need for serious alterations to the treaty on the basis of the renewal of our federation and not the creation of a fragile confederation as has been spoken of several times here. There cannot be a Union. All this can lead only to the collapse of the Union.

During the three critical days of the coup, I did everything in my power to prevent bloodshed, chaos, and lawlessness in the country. I saw three main areas of action for myself. First, from the very outset I made every effort, trying by any means, to make contact with the president by telephone, and when I didn't succeed, first on the 20th and then on 21 August, I insisted on being given an aircraft and flew to the Crimea together with the deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Second, so as to prevent bloodshed and breaches of the law, the question was immediately raised of the immunity and the release from custody of people's deputies who had been detained; and this was done. In view of the signals from the Russian leadership, the military were definitely warned of their responsibility for any actions against the House of Soviets of the RSFSR, and from the night of 21 August, the withdrawal of military units from Moscow was begun, as you know.

Third, as the only remaining representative of legal power—and this was mentioned at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and I am grateful that this was objectively stated—I strove to secure cooperation with the republics and the localities; the leaders of 17 republics and more than 10 krais and oblasts were guided by me toward nonimplementation of those measures connected with the state of emergency on their territory.

I maintained the closest links with Kazakhstan, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the other republics. Any actions

would have been doomed to failure because of the helplessness of their leaders and deputies. I am not exaggerating anything.

There have been references to some kind of mythical interviews which I am alleged to have given during this period. They simply did not take place. The only interview—by telephone—which I managed to give on the morning of 21 August was an interview to Yegor Yakovlev, the editor in chief of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. I told him about the flight to the Crimea and said that I could not betray a man with whom I am linked by 40 years of life.

Yakovlev replied to this: I thought as much and was sure of that. On the morning of 19 August, I issued urgent telegrams to members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium regarding the arrival in Moscow. Also on 19 August, a resolution was signed on the convocation of an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The text of that resolution—the question was asked here—the text of that resolution corresponds in a most precise way to point 15 of Article 127/3 of the Constitution. It states that decisions on a state of emergency must be presented immediately to the USSR Supreme Soviet. They were presented only sometime after 1400 on the afternoon of the 19th. They must subsequently be examined by the top body of power.

Bearing in mind the fact that a significant number of deputies were at the time not simply on leave but were at holiday and health resorts, at least four days were required for them to arrive for a session from all over the country's territory. Generally speaking, we are firmly aware of this date, we are aware of the possibilities. We have usually needed between five and one half to six days for the Supreme Soviet to assemble; well, four.

[Laptev, interrupting] [passage omitted] So, Anatoliy Ivanovich, please go ahead.

[Lukyanov] Comrades, I shall continue. Bearing in mind the fact that a significant number of deputies were at the time not simply on leave, but were at holiday and health resorts, at least four days were required for them to arrive for a session from all over the country's territory. What is more, as you know, according to the standing order, the presence of at least two thirds of deputies of each chamber is required to open a session. I am certain, comrades, that that it is now quite clear to everyone that for extraordinary situations this standing order is totally unsuitable and it needs to be changed, changed without fail.

In reply to a question that has come to me from one of the deputies, let me say that we received 23 telegrams from deputies on bringing forward the convening of the session from the 20th [as heard] to 24 August—23—only do not oversimplify the problems of convening a session, and listen to me carefully.

I knew that the Supreme Soviet was under the threat of being dissolved if it did not back the actions of the

conspirators. Dissolution was impermissible, but endorsement of the decisions of the putsch organizers was also out of the question. Whichever way, it was a case of the fate of deputies. If need be, I can reveal what I mean.

I instructed—I am explaining—I instructed three of our committees to give their conclusions on the decisions of the SCSE. To begin with there was no unanimity here; and from my point of view, it is inadmissible to reproach people, all deputies for this. There was no clarity. It only emerged at the beginning of 20 August when I was able to say with conviction—and I said this directly to the putsch organizers—that the USSR Supreme Soviet would under no circumstances support the decisions on the state of emergency; and as a result of this, both the committee on the state of emergency itself and all the acts it had passed would be buried. I believed that an absolutely essential condition for convening a session was the presence at that session of the USSR president.

This was spoken of at my meeting with the initiative group of deputies which, by the way, played a very major role in preparing this session. I also considered the presence of the president essential at a session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which was agreed on 21 August with the chairmen of the chambers, and they agreed that I should get to the Crimea by any means, so that Mikhail Sergeyevich might have an opportunity of coming to the presidium session; that is why they were chairing this session, and at first it was called a conference. We were waiting to see whether Mikhail Sergeyevich would be able to come. I spoke about the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Foros on my arrival. These are just some of the facts—every minute could be set out in detail.

Of course in this most tense situation, a lot of things should have been done differently. We should have acted much more decisively, must faster, much more sharply. I fully accept the president's criticism of our actions, and it reflects first and foremost upon me.

I consider my main fault toward the Supreme Soviet to be the fact that the session was not convened at least two days earlier. This is what events demanded, and this is what the people were expecting. I only reject the motive of faintheartedness and self-seeking. There was disarray and confusion, ignorance of the true situation, but there was no betrayal and could have been none. If the president has not become convinced of this in the most difficult situations since April 1985, then I can only regret that.

It is only today that a whole host of people have appeared to whom everything was clear from the very outset. There are quite a few among them who are now calling me Pontius Pilot, and who yesterday made the most flattering epithets.

No Comrades! For many people, for many deputies, things were not clear right away. There were the most

diverse responses from the localities. People were in very great disarray. Everybody was asking what should be done. There were hundreds of calls and hundreds of questions. Every careless step could have led to bloodshed.

There are deputies to whom I said on the morning of 19 August that the putsch was an adventure which will cost the life of both the Union and the Communist Party. I hope that some of you will remember that if you hold truth dear.

At the same time, I realize full well that the collapse of the conspiracy was predetermined, first of all by the process of democratization within our society influencing the popular masses, by their protest, by the activeness of the parliament of Russia.

I will put it like this. One of the greatest and most terrible misfortunes brought by that conspiracy lies in the fact that, in the face of the whole scope of popular democracy, it raised a wave of people's lack of confidence in the authorities, in Communists, in law enforcement and military cadres, in administrative bodies.

It is quite clear today that unless that wave of lack of confidence recedes, then a blow will have been struck against all our democratic gains. That is taking place already. I do not want to comment upon that. I could cite telegrams, letters, and telephone calls which I have received. That is taking place already, and I cannot be silent about that.

The Supreme Soviet is not a judicial organ, nor a deputies' investigative commission. So permit me not to reply to all of the questions and remarks that have been submitted. They will be clarified in the appropriate manner and reported to you in detail. As far as I know, the day before yesterday it was said here that my every word uttered in front of the television cameras could subsequently be used against me. Today it is not difficult to imagine what might await me, the more so as someone desperately wants to link me firmly with the plot, and to prove that my ideas were the detonators of that plot. But I want quite categorically to tell you, my colleagues, with whom I have worked for nearly three years, and found common understanding in the majority of cases: As long as I live, I shall not renounce my convictions. These are: strengthening our Union as a renewed federation of sovereign republics, and not a confederation; movement toward a regulated market and a diversified economy with public property a priority; the power of the soviets at the center and in the localities, and their full control over the administrative system; and finally, a socialist orientation in the development of our society and our democracy.

Whatever is said here, the USSR Supreme Soviet has done a very great deal over these years, and its work will undoubtedly be assessed by people. The immediate dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, as one or two people here have proposed, could be the beginning of the end for all Union structures of power. This cannot be allowed

to occur under any circumstances, not under any circumstances. The Supreme Soviet has to work in a difficult transitional period, ensuring the continuity of power. But I ask you: Just don't let passions overwhelm our reason, don't let the dark, terrible times ever return to our land.

I thank you for your cooperation and for your patience.

Alksnis Urges Accused Be Heard

LD2808135791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1019 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Statement by Colonel Viktor Alksnis at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow on 28 August—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed colleagues: [passage omitted] Alongside the coup that took place between 19 and 21 August there was another coup occurring simultaneously. It was also an anticonstitutional one. I think this anticonstitutional coup commenced on 18 November 1988 when the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was the first to adopt a declaration on state sovereignty. That was the beginning of destruction, of systematic destruction of the USSR Constitution. As a result of this, especially after the declaration on Russia's state sovereignty was adopted, which torpedoed our Union ship below the waterline and made it impossible to repair the hole smashed into our Union ship, our ship began to sink. Those who sit in this hall watched all this with tranquility. Hence, we are to blame for letting this Constitution to be destroyed. [passage omitted]

Apart from that, I think we are guilty for turning a blind eye to very alarming news on the situation in the country, which was reported here. We were dealing with the adoption of laws that very frequently were not needed by anybody. Like the law on—I do not remember—I think, the law regulating the taking out of personal documents by Soviet citizens to foreign countries, and other laws. At the same time, information, alarming information, was passing by this cozy hall. Let's return to the second, as they say, or the third attempted coup d'état—to June of this year—when putschists-to-be stood on this rostrum and, with anguish in their voices, were telling us that our power, our motherland, was on the brink of a precipice. They appealed to us, to our conscience. The Supreme Soviet, the supreme body of the constitutional power, please undertake some measures. We pretended that nothing had happened. We found it convenient, because, otherwise, it would have meant that the responsibility would lie with us. We did not take any responsibility. I am far from justifying those people. There is a well-known saying: Let the losers sob. They will be punished for that; retribution will come. [passage omitted]

The last thing I would like to say is that I am very alarmed at the situation we have here today. I think that, after all, if we are honest, we should look into the eyes of those people who took part in this putsch. I think that if

we leave this hall without making a decision concerning these people....[changes thought] We can at least listen to them. Take account of the fact that they are our colleagues, USSR people's deputies. They are the people we appointed to high posts in our government. I see that a certain influence is being exerted not to let these people speak from the rostrum. It is very likely, I think, that in couple days there will be a report on Kryuchkov having a fatal heart attack or his suicide. I appeal to you once again. The Supreme Soviet, I beg you, in order to prevent the irremediable, vote for these people to speak from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet.

Thank you for your attention. [there is no applause]

Shcherbakov Explains Actions

LD2908020191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1309 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Address by Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov, USSR first deputy prime minister, to the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] I only want to dwell on some fundamental issues. It is true that we agreed that Comrade Doguzhiyev should speak, but, if you allow, he will speak after me, simply because I had more information over this period than he did, and it is probably better for me to do this.

First, concerning the role of the behavior of the government and its involvement in the plot:

I assert, quite unequivocally, that the USSR Government, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, as a collective body of government, as the executive power, did not take part in any secret conspiracies behind the back of the president, of the Supreme Soviet, and the people. And as a collective body, we did not commit any anticonstitutional actions.

Prime Minister Pavlov, who turned us into hostages of his decision—the investigation will look into how this took place—and the three cabinet ministers—Yazov, Pugo, and Kryuchkov—is another matter.

But I want to tell you that I have worked in the government for three years. I never once saw them at meetings; not only in Pavlov's government, but in the government of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov too. And, in general, if you paid attention to the relationship between the government and these leaders, plus the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then you have probably seen that the minister of foreign affairs would meet the head of a foreign state, and that the government, including the first deputy [prime minister], forms a crowd for the shaking of hands. So this accusation does not relate to the government.

Of course, in these circumstances each individual conducted himself in a different manner. Matters have to be looked into calmly for each person, the motives of his behavior understood, and I will say a little about this.

I want to say only that if you really want to adhere to a legal state, and if the presumption of innocence is really to triumph, then you must not throw everyone into the same basket.

We, and I confirm this, during the period of 19-22 August we took no single unconstitutional or illegal action. Moreover, we did not implement a single decision of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. As of the 20th and 21st, we began refusing to implement these decisions officially. On the 20th, we reached agreement first with Comrade Doguzhiyev and then at the Presidium on the 21st at 1330 when the tanks, incidentally, were still on the streets and nothing was clear as regards Gorbachev's health and what was the matter with him. We refused to carry out the instructions of the SCSE in the economic sphere: on lowering prices for children's goods, the parity of prices between the city and countryside, on housing-95, and other such foolishness. We said that this was adventurism, that it was yet another attempt to make the economy a hostage of political passions and we refused to do this.

Second, we regarded the instructions of the Cabinet of Ministers issued by Vice President Yanayev on the introduction of censorship and on organizing the reregistration of the mass media, as unconstitutional, and refused to carry them out.

Third, we adopted at this cabinet a government statement which you also do not want to acknowledge: when you publish your materials and chronologies, there is no government statement there, and this is mistaken. But, by the way, as distinct from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, it was adopted, although we are the executive authority, and they knew beforehand what we were heading for, announcing it at a news conference. So, we adopted the statement in which the following was laid down: We, the USSR Government, state that under these circumstances we submit only to the Constitution and laws of the USSR, we undertake to strictly carry them out, and are accountable only to President Gorbachev and the Supreme Soviet.

I regret that we removed the second phrase, but it was there. Further, it was written that under these circumstances, we refuse to carry out the decisions of vice...[corrects himself] acting President Yanayev and of the SCSE. It was made clear to us that we may not recognize the acting president, but that under the Constitution we are bound to recognize the vice president, and that if we adopt such a statement, it would be unconstitutional. [inaudible call from the hall—Shcherbakov pauses and sighs deeply].

Comrade Lukyanov made this clear to us, made it clear to me personally in the presence of Velichko, over the telephone.

Further, what actually happened at the session on 19 August? First, none of us knew, and that morning all of us learned of this from the radio and the television, each in his own way. In the morning, we met, the presidium,

and phoned each other. No one knew anything, not a single minister knew anything.

We agreed...[changes thought] Pavlov is ill, I called him, he said he would be there a little later.

We went our separate ways, all trying to figure out what was going on. Some sort of additional information at least needed to be collected. We agreed to meet a little later.

At this time, I phoned Yanayev and put three questions to him. Gennadiy Ivanovich, I ask you to answer, quite clearly and comprehensibly, three questions. First, do you really have trustworthy information that President Gorbachev is ill and is not in a condition to carry out his duties? Not a word of proof, because it was clear that by that very evening the situation would be quite different. The second question: Was the text of all these statements not distorted? I never read them because it was all by ear. But from what I had heard, it was clear to me that there was so much nonsense and so much of everything there that again, things would be bad. And the third—you have adopted, the Soviet leadership, three of you signed, but probably more of you got together...but at this point I was no longer speaking, I knew, roughly, who signed, and of course, around a bottle they may sign anything you want. I ask, there was probably more of you people there—at least say who was there. And in general, how is all this to be understood?

He told me, gave an affirmative, or even confirmed to all three questions. I asked him: Is Comrade Lukyanov there. He told me: Yes, he is. Does he support this? Yes, he does.

Well, I am speaking Yanayev's words, I don't know exactly how the conversation went. I asked him, then explain to me Gennadiy Ivanovich—surely you know that you have steamrolled with the law on the state of emergency, nothing is left standing. How is all this to be understood? Lukyanov could not have sanctioned this. He said, we reached agreement that we will explain ourselves at the session. And, anyway, he asked, what are you planning to do?

I said: You know, in general, this is a dubious affair, and so, for the present, I don't know—I have no information. I will carry out my duties up to the session, but at present I will deal exclusively with the economy—our business there is such that it will explode any moment. He says to me, that's right, OK, Pavlov will tell you the details—this is not for the telephone.

Well, eventually I phoned Pavlov and I agreed in particular, at 1200, that we would meet at 1700. It never happened. Well, OK, then the evening meeting: no one knew anything. No one had any kind of information.

The meeting began. Pavlov submitted two items for the agenda. The first item—the attitude of the Cabinet of Ministers to the statement of the presidium of the cabinet, of the 17th, on the text of the Union treaty. Who

has what attitude? And second, what are the attitudes of the members of the Cabinet of Ministers on the assessment of the situation today and the introduction of the state of emergency. I will remind you that in the statement of the 17th we laid down our position to the presidium. First, we approved the text of the Union treaty. Second, we regarded its immediate signing as a most important stabilizing factor today. And, third, in this treaty, there is a whole range of articles formulated in such a way that they can be pulled in any direction you like - to the left or to the right. And we were concerned that they will pull it in a different direction, and not as we agreed, and so we said that these articles, we outlined five questions, had to be, without in any way holding back the Union treaty—it had to be signed immediately—but for these five articles, a special protocol and agreement had to be put together, and they should be regarded as an inalienable part of the Union treaty, and until we sign these agreements, on these five items, no one would adopt any unilateral decisions. These were extremely serious matters, including changes in the jurisdiction of all industrial sectors—can you imagine what this is? Destruction; an absolute lack of clarity of who is responsible for food, who is responsible for fuel. These are not easy questions, including: What is the USSR Bank after this? What is it, a club of the happy and resourceful? Or is it a bank after all?

That was the essence of our formulation. All members of the cabinet supported such a formulation, and said: that's correct, the decision is adopted.

The second part of the item: Before setting about it, Pavlov gave a report and said—not verbatim, but in essence—there were many people there, so I won't distort it much. He says that a critical situation had been brewing for a long time, but that of late, a military coup had been prepared. A large number of armed fighters had concentrated within the Sadovoyoye Koltso. Their weapons were just shoulder-launched missiles for three battalions. That list of people to be removed in this situation had been seized from them—and that all you members of the government sitting here are on these lists, only on different lists, on a certain list. But we have averted all this by introducing the state of emergency. Now, each of you express your position. What is your attitude to this?

That is how the question was posed. [passage omitted].

But if we actually understand that the situation had grown tense, then in this situation, vital facilities have to be protected. We have food for 10 days...okay, I won't list them. And in this situation, it is as easy as spitting to create a second Chernobyl. So I think that Ministers were quite correct to put the question... right then, place the railways under guard, take the airports, take all kinds of gasoline, aviation stations and so on and so forth. But how is it to be?

And in this situation, we all came to the conclusion that in any event, whatever happened, the main task of the

USSR Government was to keep the national economy from chaos, not to permit mass disorders and bloodshed, and to provide the population, in any situation, and under any conditions with food, medicine, fuel and so on.

We are appointed not to make our own political statements. Whoever wanted to engage in this in the previous government could leave the government, leave his state duties, or attempt to combine them. That is what we did in this situation. [passage omitted]

So I again want to say that the USSR Government did not take part in any kind of anti-constitutional activity.

People ask me what I personally did in this situation since, unfortunately, it was published. I understand that. In such circumstances the USSR president was unable to refuse this. He was in effect forced to publish this stenographic record. But I ask you to give me a few minutes more.

I, of course, also did not understand what was going on. My first thoughts were that this was a Khrushchev-model coup. So, on the first day, I was of course interested most of all in the health of Gorbachev, most of all. Because this was a sort of hope for his return, that give all this, say, a week or two and everything can be restored. Here I phoned, well, it doesn't matter. In general, I phoned a lot of people in the Republic and tried somehow to understand. There was no information. And I came to the conclusion that something had indeed happened to Gorbachev, after a conversation at night with Pavlov when all members of the Presidium had left. After the cabinet met there was still a presidium. We continued the debate. We never came to a single view and decided to part for the day. Pavlov and I went down to his office, and he told me what had in fact happened. How he explained it I will discuss further.

He said to me, on 18 August, with his son—his son has to fly off, we were sitting and drinking. Kryuchkov calls: Come urgently and immediately to the Kremlin—an emergency. An armed coup is being prepared. Members of the security have to make a decision on introducing a state of emergency. I asked him, where is Lukyanov? He says off to Valday. But how can such a matter be decided without Lukyanov. Let's send a helicopter immediately.

We gathered together. In come Baklanov, Shenin, Plekhanov and, most important, Boldin, and say that they have just got back from the Crimea. That they waited in the president's reception for an hour. They were unable to get in because there were doctors with him. That Raisa Maksimovna is also unwell, a most serious situation. They were let in for fifteen minutes. The president is in bed, was in effect not responding to words, in general was inactive. So we ask the doctors—is it an infarct or an insult or everything together - they say we don't know. But in general, it became clear to us that it is not a matter of detail but that generally he won't be around for some time, and so we came back immediately. That, comrades, is what we report to you. [passage omitted]

I still doubted that this was a military coup. I'm thinking, they are not idiots, after all. They had set a date for a session and they understand that they won't put the country on its knees in a week. Most importantly, if they want that, why had they not arrested anyone. [passage omitted]

All the same, on 20th I started to understand. We maintained communication with all the presidents of the republics and, roughly at dinner time I finally came to the conclusion that it is necessary to do something, and that the situation is so unclear, and that all of us, the USSR Government, had become such hostages in this situation and by the premier's actions. In political terms we were unable to take a step either to the left or the right, and that from the start. To make a start it was necessary to remove the premier from the SCSE, to untie his hands and to show him to everyone, because as long as the premier was included in the SCSE, the whole world may think that we support them. It was necessary for everyone to understand that we are not there, nor the head of state of the USSR Government.

So, I tried various routes. At first, I tried to reach agreement that it was just that Pavlov was not being released from his home. That never worked. Then I went to him and we agreed that we would officially publish the statement on his illness and that his duties will be placed on Comrade Doguzhiyev. It is not that I was afraid, it was just because he is more experienced and stronger, and knows how to govern, unlike myself. In the government our allocations are fairly clear. I deal with all kinds of analytical, economic and social problems, and he deals with others. That is how the statement without precedent appeared. Then we prepared a government statement.

Irrespective of whether the government would support me or not, I just did not want to get people involved, understanding that I am embarking on an anti-constitutional action. I did not want to draw others into these actions. But, inasmuch as in a conversation with Anatoliy Ivanovich, he stopped saying we are flying to the Crimea to talk with the president, I understood that if it is possible to talk to the president—this means that all the rest is unconstitutional—that is, if the president is able to speak—it means he is well, or at least to the extent of addressing the people. That is how events developed. I will say it again that it was sheer luck that the president phoned me twenty minutes before the conference.

In general, as we adopted this statement, everyone knew what would happen to us: the executive body officially acting against the Constitutional one. I understood that I might not return from that news conference. [passage omitted]

But the last thing—coming out to this rostrum for the last time, I have spent a lot of time at it in this hall, I want to say to you, not to lecture you, what I think. That which is most difficult still lies ahead, after all. An

assessment of the plot has been given, only we still do not grasp the catastrophic consequences of this. I do not absolve ourselves, the government, or myself personally of the blame. In general, I think that our main fault, and our main tragedy, is that we did not understand what Gorbachev was doing. We did not understand it and had not evaluated it.

We understood that there was a build-up of forces under way on both sides, but his efforts for political stabilization—through the Union treaty, and economic stabilization through a joint program and international economic relations through the London accords—we did not understand them. We were always grumbling in the government: What is being agreed to behind our backs, what is going on, things are not right. We failed to put collectives in the right frame of mind. This was our major mistake.

There is much yet to say, but what is to be done next? I want you to understand that I do not want to hitch myself to what more authoritative people are saying. On the second we had a conference with the president at which I said in all frankness—representatives of all the republics were there, and I told them—your political indecisiveness as you sit here at this table, your inability to retain your economic populism, has led to the country reaching the verge of a catastrophe. I confirm this to you. The country is on the verge of a financial catastrophe. Unless conclusions are reached from this and actions are carried out immediately, and I warned them at the time, that I would resign and not wait. What ought to be done? I think that the anti-crisis program is fundamentally suitable, even today. Of course, it needs to be radicalized even more rapidly. I think that the Harvard option ought to be taken as a basis under such a radicalization. [passage omitted] Both then and now, we all concluded that no one will manage to get out of this without the preservation of the union, without the consolidation of forces. I say this to you as a specialist who knows what he is talking about.

Doguzhiyev Speaks for Cabinet

LD2908024191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1339 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Speech by First Deputy USSR Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev at the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—live]

[Text] First of all, I have to tell you that I have asked for the floor on the Cabinet of Ministers' instruction. I will speak only about the issues which bear upon the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers. If I mention myself in the process, it is only because I was linked inseparably with the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers. First of all, I must convey to you my gratitude for agreeing to listen to the Cabinet of Ministers. Nobody has done this until now. I must say, on behalf of all the members of the Cabinet of Ministers, that we are deeply sorry for the lives that have gone and are profoundly upset over the

things that have taken place. But I think that both sides need this hearing, both you and us, both for a greater objectivity in assessing the events and, as the saying goes, for using our experience in the future, and also in order to stop making decisions on peoples' destinies on the basis of anonymous letters or somebody's superficial records, liberally interpreted by various sources of information.

The first point, specifically. Voices can be heard today alleging that in June when Prime Minister Pavlov asked for extraordinary powers from the USSR Supreme Soviet, preparations for the putsch were already under way at that time. I am reporting to you that the issues of giving extraordinary powers had not even been discussed by the Cabinet of Ministers or by its Presidium and nobody had authorized Pavlov to come to this rostrum and to ask for such powers on behalf of the Cabinet of Ministers. I have reported this to the president, not deliberately but in reply to his question. When the question was asked, I told him about that.

A view has been voiced that Union bodies wanted to thwart the signing of the Union treaty. Comrade Shcherbakov has spoken about this here. We examined the issue on Saturday and came to the unanimous conclusion that the treaty had to be signed, even if we had some corrections and addenda to it, since they could be solved within the framework of accords or protocols. Incidentally, they were envisaged in the same draft Union treaty. The morning news on 19 August was completely unexpected for us, as it was for everybody else, and caused alarm and bewilderment. That is no secret. We tried thoroughly to obtain information. The prime minister was nowhere to be seen. We could not find him. Comrade Shcherbakov telephoned me and said: A meeting of the first deputies at the prime minister's office has been scheduled for 1700. A little later a meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers was announced. The meeting at 1700 failed to take place because Pavlov was absent. The Cabinet of Ministers gathered at 1800. The prime minister submitted two issues to the Cabinet for examination: first, on the attitude to the Cabinet Presidium's decision on the Union treaty. Here everything is clear. I will not elaborate on this topic. And, on the work of the national economy in the critical situation of the state of emergency which had taken shape. The issue of support for the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] was not raised. As became known later, a few days ago, no stenographic record of the meeting was made. Today many of us are paying for this omission, perhaps, even a deliberate one.

Therefore, I will not take upon myself the responsibility of saying who said what, especially as I myself did not take notes. I was very upset there because I saw the prime minister's condition. Some people say that he was ill, but I am firmly convinced that he was quite drunk. [Gorbachev interjects: "As always."]. The prime minister's behavior and his state were such a contrast with the situation and the complexity of the moment that even to me—usually I keep my nerves in check—this scene

caused a state of shock and for a long time I did not even hear what people were saying. The muddled meeting ended somewhere after 2100 without any decisions being adopted and without any voting, something the press has mentioned. This was impossible, considering the prime minister's condition.

After the meeting we, the Cabinet of Ministers' Presidium, stayed on and tried for more than an hour and a half to clarify with the prime minister what had happened, after all.

Apart from threats that we were also on the lists, and there were armed militants out there, we understood nothing. We finally insisted that the session should be continued the following day. The session on that day, the proceedings of which I have just described to you, failed to clarify anything for anyone. And so we agreed that we'd convene the next day, the 20th, at about 1100. Regrettably a day later, on 21 August, an announcement by the press service attached to the prime minister appeared in the press without the knowledge of any member of the Presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers—I cannot speak for the prime minister. I don't know about him—saying that on 19 August the Cabinet of Ministers had examined tasks stemming from the statement and decisions of the SCSE and supported these decisions. I have already told you that this did not happen. On the morning of the same day, the 20th, we learned from the papers about a statement from the chairman and members of the Constitutional Supervision Committee in which they asked the Supreme Soviet about its intention to examine the imposition of a state of emergency, as required by the Constitution. But these same papers contained the reply to this question: a decision of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet on the convocation of an extraordinary session on 26 August.

In the morning we were unable to find the prime minister anywhere. There were no instructions from him about the time of the session. After 1100, Yanayev, through his assistant, invited me to go and see him. I hesitated, but went to see him. Members of the SCSE were in Yanayev's office, but not Pavlov. I then understood why I had been summoned. It is a well-known fact in Pavlov's absence I usually take overall charge of the work of the Cabinet of Ministers. And, indeed, Yanayev wanted to know where Pavlov was and what the matter with him was. I replied that I didn't know where he was: the condition he was in was clear the day before, you sort things out with him, his condition really had been as I said. To a question from one of the members of the SCSE about my attitude to the emergency measures, I replied that I had said everything the day before at the Cabinet of Ministers session and that certain things were not clear to me and that I had certain doubts, and I still had to reflect on them. It was proposed to me that I become a member of a group for the operational running of the national economy which was being set up under the SCSE. I replied with a refusal, and said this was the prerogative of the Cabinet of Ministers, and in particular this was my official function, and we would not hand this

function over to anyone else. The Cabinet of Ministers was then instructed through me to prepare several draft decisions of the SCSE. I said I did not understand the issues, whereupon I was told to go through them separately with Tizyakov. [words indistinct] found out from (?my) colleague Comrade Shcherbakov that the premier had fallen ill. We told each other we had great doubts about the legality of what was happening and we agreed in fact not to carry out a single decision of the SCSE.

At 2000 that day comrade Maslyukov and myself were invited to a meeting of the SCSE again. We discussed with him this question and still decided to go, although we had already arrived at the opinion that all this looked like an adventure. But we hoped, perhaps, to receive some additional information. We agreed on how we would behave. At the meeting Comrade Maslyukov, replying to questions by members of the SCSE, said that the defense industry was working normally but more and more questions on the creation of the SCSE were being received from enterprises. He suggested that the SCSE and the juridical bodies, through the mass media, first of all on television, clarify this question. I reported on the impossibility of implementing, for various reasons, instructions of the SCSE on the preparation of its draft resolutions. But I was instructed to continue working on these resolutions. To a proposal to present current information on the work of the economy by the Cabinet of Ministers to the SCSE and on the situation in the provinces, I replied that this was not possible because the previous information system was not working in the country. Then Baklanov proposed to form some kind of staff under the SCSE and for me to be a member of this staff. I categorically refused. After that, Comrade Maslyukov and myself left the meeting, but we found out in the waiting room that "Vremya" announced that Pavlov was ill and that the responsibilities of the prime minister were laid on me. This was a surprise. There were no preliminary talks with me. I suspected something was wrong. Only the president or, in his absence, the Supreme Soviet can lay the responsibilities of the prime minister officially on anyone. But then on the evening of the 21st I found out that "Vremya" announced this without having an official document, based on somebody's telephone call. I cannot give the name of one of my colleagues now, as I was told by Kravchenko, in order not to blacken him because I myself am not convinced of this, but Kravchenko gave me the name of who telephoned and who gave exactly the text which was broadcast on "Vremya".

[Shcherbakov] I telephoned.

[Doguzhiyev] So, Shcherbakov telephoned. Pavlov signed this instruction, it turned out, only on 21 August. On 21 August this document was signed antedated 19 August. The formulation there is, of course, different from the one which was announced on "Vremya". Lawyers, of course, do not accept such a formulation. They wrote: to lay on the general management of the work of the Cabinet on Doguzhiyev. This formulation corresponds to the law.

Gorbachev 'Cannot Trust' Cabinet

LD2808161191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1408 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Remarks by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at extraordinary session of USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

There will be no easy decisions for us in these days and the days to come. But we have to adopt those that are necessary and which have come about as a lesson from what has happened to us, if we want in the future to be able to preserve the country, to preserve the course toward renewal and to advance the process of change in the interests of people.

Yesterday I said that if this Supreme Soviet—and I confirm this, and I am taking it as a whole, and this does not at all mean that there are not people sitting here, that there are not people who, at least inwardly, agreed with the introduction of the state of emergency and with all these methods, etc... [changes thought] but as a whole, the Supreme Soviet would not have let this through. I have come to this opinion. It would have turned all these organizers inside-out and would have forced them to prove that the state of emergency was necessary. I believe that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet did not fulfill their role. They did not assemble. But it was we who failed to stipulate a mechanism for when such situations arise for the Supreme Soviet itself to assemble. So, I have spoken about this.

If the Cabinet of Ministers, regardless even of how and in what form the premier had become involved in this, and of his condition, had come out against—it is after all a powerful constitutional body after the Supreme Soviet and the president—and if it had told the whole people or moreover had left the building and gone to the place where people were stating this, I am sure that there would have already been isolation even in such a case. They [as heard] would have been incapable of doing anything and for that reason it had... [changes thought] but I do not want to put it like this now, that they bear juridical responsibility, and I do not want, so to speak, everyone... after all, I know many of these comrades—Shcherbakov and Doguzhiyev and all the others with whom I have worked, and come into contact, and whose potential I know, and so on—but, this is a matter for the parliamentary commission and for further investigation, but I cannot trust this cabinet. That is all. That is how I put the matter. [applause] There is no need for applause. This is not the time for that, comrades. This is our common drama.

Why, when, as I was told, Vitaliy Ivanovich Ignatenko having heard things on the morning of the 19th in Borvikhi or somewhere, as I was told, and he said: The swine, what are they doing, where are they pushing the country? He made a stand as soon as he had heard this and alone, without consultations or anything. Why could the cabinet, with its staff and its potential, not have been

able to make a stand? It could have. So I cannot trust the cabinet and I put this question in accordance with the law on the cabinet and the article.

Pavlov Removal Approved

LD2808150191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1409 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—At its session today, the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified the USSR president's decree on relieving Valentin Pavlov of the duties of USSR prime minister, in connection with his complicity in the events of 18 to 21 August; 412 deputies approved the decree, three voted against and three abstained.

No Confidence Vote Passes

LD2808160891 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The Soviet parliament today expressed no confidence in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers by a majority ballot today.

"We must make decisions that are necessary and that proceed as a lesson from what happened to us," President Mikhail Gorbachev told the parliament, explaining reasons behind his decree of no confidence in the cabinet.

Gorbachev said he was confident that had the cabinet, a powerful constitutional instrument, spoken out against the GKCP [State Committee for the State of Emergency], the coup organisers would have been isolated.

"I cannot trust this cabinet," the president said.

Silayev Reads Economic Committee Decree

LD2808182191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1436 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Remarks by Russian Federation Prime Minister Ivan Stepanovich Silayev to the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I am simply informing you, announcing to you, the first document of our committee for the operational administration of the national economy. This is decree number 1.

I will not read the whole decree, but I think you will see in it an answer to the question that has been worrying you for the past few days.

In accordance with the president's decree, we have brought the following comrades into the committee:

Abdushalishvili, minister of industry of the Republic of Georgia.

Azizbekov, chairman of the state committee of the Azerbaijan republic for material and technical supply.

Bektemisov, chairman of the state committee of the Kazakh SSR for material and technical supply.

Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Dzhurabekov, first deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers under the President of the Uzbek SSR.

Yefimov, minister of transportation of the RSFSR.

Karimov, first deputy prime minister of the Tajik SSR.

Kenik, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR.

Kisin, minister of industry of the RSFSR.

Kulik, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR.

Mikhaylov, general director of the Vympel Central Scientific Production Association.

Nosov, general director of the GPZ-1 Production Association.

Protasov, director of the central scientific research of specialized machine building and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Science.

Saburov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR.

[Moscow TASS International Service at 1501 GMT on 28 August adds the following name in its version of Decree No.1: "Sergeyev, plenipotentiary representative of the chairman of the council of ministers of the RSFSR"]

Suyunov, deputy head of the government of Turkmen SSR.

I am naming the positions as they are called in the relevant republics;

Ter-Israyelyan, deputy head of the State Committee for the Economy of the Republic of Armenia.

Fedorov, permanent representative of the Ukrainian SSR.

Khamidov, deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers under the President of the Uzbek SSR.

Chubuk, permanent representative of the republic of Moldova.

Chyngyshev, state secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers of the republic of Kyrgyzstan.

We accepted the proposal of the Governments of the Latvian Republic, Lithuanian Republic, and Estonian Republic to include in the committee for the operational administration of the national economy of the USSR as observers: Gutmanis, deputy minister of the economy of the Latvian Republic; Navickas, first deputy minister of

the economy of the Lithuanian Republic; and Leimann, minister of the economy of the Estonian Republic

We adopted a second point: Awaiting the formation of a new Union executive body to establish the following distribution of jobs between the head of the committee for the operational administration of the national economy—that is to say me—and his deputies: Silayev—coordination of joint actions of the governments of the Union republics, examination of and decisions on questions connected with the activity of the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Committee for State Security, the Committee for State Material Reserve and Mass Media;

Volskiy—examination of and decisions on questions of the work of industry, including the defense industries, construction, transportation, and communications;

Luzhkov—examination of and decisions on questions of the agri-industrial complex, trade, foreign trade links, and the social sphere;

Yavlinskiy—organization of work to prepare the program of economic reform in the country, and the integration of this program into the world economy.

Gorbachev Defends RSFSR Appearance

LD2908011291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1505 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Question and answer exchange between USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Sukhov and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Sukhov] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, you accused me yesterday of treating you with suspicion. But in order to allow the country to make some sort of headway, the support of the people is needed. When we saw you at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, doubts arose in everyone's mind. They were dictating to you there. The emergence of this committee was dictated by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. So our population's mistrust is going to be great, and I am not convinced that our common cause is going to make progress. This worries me, as a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. Maybe I am wrong—I hope to God I am!

[Gorbachev] We cannot leave it there, because this is quite a serious accusation. Once again, it could cause disarray, as it were. First, as you know, on 23 August, immediately after my return from the Crimea, I asked the leaders of the nine republics that were ready to sign the treaty to come down. They all arrived. We agreed that this cooperation was needed in order to ensure that we did not lose control of the country. If we lost control—you understand how important that is. Fifteen republics all sent their representatives, albeit in different forms and in different ways. Fifteen republics. That is the first thing.

The second is this. You know, there is a process—those three days, and the way out. We have to see all this clearly. When I attended the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, you all saw the situation. Nevertheless, in that situation I attempted to say everything despite all the reaction, the agitation, and the emotions. I could see, moreover, that the main bulk of deputies had a serious attitude. Another group just used well-known methods.

I could not simply leave the hall in these conditions, in this situation in which the country found itself, in the face of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, which went through a great deal during this time and took much upon itself. Although, in any other event, I would simply have made a statement and ended the dialogue. I had to remain to the end, express my point of view on sore points: that we should be together with the republics; that we should not unleash a terror or anything else now; that we should not, as somebody said, use a broom to sweep away those who think differently from us; and so on and so forth.

That was an important meeting, with all its pain and acuteness. Of course, the situation was such that, on the whole, in another time, in a normal time, would simply impermissible and humiliating, and I would not have tolerated that. I had to undertake that dialogue in any form. It had to take place. That is the first thing.

Second, I had to say to them that at the time when Union structures were not operating and the Constitution and the Constitutional order had to be defended, the Russian Supreme Soviet and president and government had recourse to forms and methods at their disposal. They used them. I felt it was necessary to say directly, frankly, and honestly that everything done during this time was done in those interests, and it had to be supported, as did everything that had juridical force and the well-known political consequences. And it did have consequences. Aside from that, individual documents may not have said so, but many documents, as far as I could see, had phrases like these: until the return of the president, until the restoration of his functions, and so on. Are we to set things out now that are not set out in our constitutions and our laws? So the situation was such that a way out had to be found. The process that had developed had to be stopped.

Now, outside this process, when documents are appearing, and someone wants to make insinuations and drag in the RSFSR leadership, I have to say that this is not acceptable to anyone. This applies to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the Russian government and of course the Russian president. Everything should be based on the Constitution. And now, cooperation. Take all the people who are members—this is a discussion with all the republican leaders, the nine, 15 republics one way or another. So that, yes, the list has been imposed in the sense that all the republics put forward their candidatures. So it is the same coalition. We have to sort out how

the republics dealt with this matter. That is another question. But these are all proposals from the republics.

So, Deputy Sukhov, I ask you once again not to suspect that there is something going on here. Since you have raised a serious question, and I feel that you have put it sincerely, I am explaining things with all sincerity and responsibility. But it is an important clarification. I had to deal with this issue. We now need agreement and cooperation.

Television Carries 27 August Proceedings

LD2708072591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television first Program Network in Russian at 0705 GMT on 27 August resumes its relay of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that opened on 26 August in Moscow.

Nishanov, who is in the chair with Laptev alongside, announces that 467 deputies are present. He goes on:

"Right now, as we embark on continuation of the debate of the matter put up for discussion, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR, is meeting with the leaders of republics in the building next door and is discussing the same matters that we are concerned about. And so, in a completely provisional way, I would like to say that we will probably discuss the first question on the agenda for the first half of the day, and in the afternoon we will invite Mikhail Sergeyevich to respond to questions and make a closing speech, and by then the editorial commission you formed yesterday will have drafted the resolution, and in the afternoon we can get on with adoption of the resolution on the first question."

At 0710 GMT Deputy Sokolov is the first to put a point from the floor. He calls for a confederation in the country. Kolesnikov follows (0712 GMT), then Shchelkonogov, Smirnov (0715 GMT) who complains about continuing shelling of Armenian villages. Mutalibov has organized a small-scale Afghanistan there, he says.

At 0719 GMT Alksnis talks about a complaint he has received from 1,000 KGB officers about their appalling living conditions. He supports Khasbulatov's call for the disbanding of the KGB's army of informers and complains about a broadcast on Russian TV.

Sukhov calls for a minute's silence for Akhromeyev. Nishanov refuses the request.

Pavlov objects to Nishanov's chairmanship, and calls for the election of a chairman, demanding a vote.

Next Nishanov proposes starting discussion of the agenda, and this is accepted.

At 0732 GMT Nishanov invites Volkov to speak. Volkov calls for the dismantling of totalitarianism. The coup succeeded in so far as it prevented the signing of the Union treaty, he states.

At 0742 GMT Nishanov says the question of the chairmanship must be addressed. Laptev makes a proposal from the rostrum. It was suggested yesterday that a special chairman should be elected. Sobchak's name was mbrought up. Let's vote on this, he says.

Kugultinov says Supreme Soviet deputies could not respond to the emergency and man the barricades, because news takes a long time to travel right across the Soviet Union. Sobchak should be chairman of the session he states.

At 0747 a vote is taken on whether the Presidium should stand down.

Sulakshin calls for another vote.

Sobchak urges deputies to halt the debate on this point. Let's discuss the questions for which we have come here, the search for the culprits, measures to keep the country under control. Let's adhere to the law and standing orders. Let's stop speeches from the floor, he urges.

Next Bocharov speaks from the platform, saying that the whole world has been shaken by recent events. The agricultural situation is "catastrophic". The harvest must be brought in. Preparations for winter must be made. Hundreds of towns could be left without heating this winter. The network of pipelines distributing heat is in an extremely dangerous conditions. The army has huge resources. It should help solve these problems, he adds.

Next, Nishanov agrees with Volkov that an appeal to the Soviet people should be prepared, and also one to the Russian parliament.

Next Deputy Martirosyan, in military uniform, mounts the platform. He speaks as chairman of the League of Military Officers in the Ukraine. He says there should be no complaints about Laptev's behavior during the coup. He suggests that Gromov, Rodionov and Makashov should be prosecuted. Who is in control of the army now? he asks. Yazov's son and Lizichev's son are studying at the Academy of the General Staff, as is Varennikov son. They say could be the future leaders of the army. Martirosyan accuses these military figures of being drunkards. Nishanov orders the disconnection of his microphone, but nothing happens. Martirosyan carries on speaking, refuses to leave the rostrum. There is uproar as he says the army supported the junta and the KGB's Republican leaders supported the junta, except in Belorussian.

At 0810 GMT Bronshteyn comes to the rostrum. He is a deputy from Estonia and member of the committee on economic reform. He praises the defenders of Moscow and praises Yeltsin for recognising Estonia, but he says that the republic will be bankrupted if the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's, RSFSR, proposed "90-fold" increase in oil prices goes ahead. We also have an interest in frontier questions, and adds. Estonia does not want nuclear weapons. They must be kept under proper

control. The armed forces must be under "general" control. If economic warfare continues, between independent republics, everybody will be ruined. Arkadiy Volskiy should be Chairman of the Council of Ministers, he notes.

At 0819 GMT Shapovalenko speaks, saying the president has condemned himself. None of us have the right to do so. The Supreme Soviet bears a lot of the blame. It debated the Cabinet of Ministers question. The Supreme Soviet has turned out to be "toothless", he notes. Ministers are now queuing up to swear loyalty, he adds, mentioning Katushev, Golik, chairman of committee on law and order, let the country down by remaining silent,

At 0830 GMT Zaslavskiy comes to the rostrum. He asks: why did the coup happen? Because of a compromise between two systems, as Gorbachev said. What is to be done now? The republics will now do without the center. They will not heed our decisions. The Supreme Soviet Presidium must be a coalition representing the Republics' interests.

At 0836 GMT Yuldashev from Uzbekistan comes to the rostrum. The totalitarian empire is dead, he says. Uzbek people suffered under the totalitarian regime. Everybody in Uzbekistan realized immediately that the coup would lead the country into an impasse. The republic acted constitutionally throughout. Karimov came out against the use of force. The state of emergency decrees were declared invalid. Uzbekistan has kept up its deliveries to other Republics throughout these events. The union of sovereign states must be preserved, he adds, the new union must be a union of equals. The Uzbek government has taken over the republican interior ministries and KGB. Not all Union structures need to be abolished. The republics shouldn't have their own armies. We have traditional ties with the other Central Asian Republics. We don't want international frontiers with them. Unfortunately our country will soon be setting a world record for suicides by top leaders, he goes on. The Supreme Soviet should not be dissolved, at least until the Union treaty is signed. Concrete action is needed to stave off hunger.

At 0847 GMT Aydak from Chuvashia comes to the rostrum. Defends state and collective farms against Khasbulatov's accusations yesterday that they backed the coup because of Starodubtsev's involvement. Starodubtsev acted alone, without consulting me, he says. Aydak says he is a member of the Council of the Peasants Union. Ligachev advised Starodubtsev how to proceed. The USSR Ministry of Agriculture is the place where rejected Party leaders end up, he says, citing Polozkov as an example. Changes in the country are not yet irreversible. The food tax and state order are still in force. The "lumpen" sections of the population were the main supporters of the coup, both in town and countryside, he adds. I made all these points before but you only laughed at me, he concludes.

At 0855 GMT Pavel Bunich comes to the rostrum. He says there might not be enough livestock feed this winter. Cattle might have to be slaughtered. Conversion must go ahead. Imports are needed for agriculture. Less fuel than needed for domestic consumption is being produced. We shouldn't step up oil exports. After all, this is enabling the Americans to hoard their own oil, he says. Greater investment is needed instead. State orders make up too large a proportion of the country's output. Greater freedom is needed, for honest business, he adds. Business should be helped.

Bunich talks about the international division of labor. The price reform was sabotaged. Less affluent people suffered. Indexation was not the answer. Nothing has been done about creating jobs. The forthcoming Congress should discuss an economic manifesto, he concludes.

At 0905 GMT Nishanov reads announcements then declares a 30-minute break.

As the session resumes at 0938 GMT Deputies shown standing and sitting in the hall. Nishanov and Laptev are seated on the platform. Nishanov asks deputies to be seated. Deputy Obolenskiy has asked for 5-minute limit on speakers. Nishanov suggests a 1-hour break at 1500 GMT, then work from 1600-1800 GMT.

The vote is 331 for, 10 against, 8 abstain.

At 0941 GMT the floor given to Rummyantsev of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 28 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Rummyantsev's speech.]

At 0953 GMT Ryabchenko from the floor calls for any new form of empire to be avoided. Democratic forces must unite, he says.

At 0955 GMT Sobachak makes a point of order, and mentions that Gorbachev is present in the hall. Gorbachev is shown seated on the platform.

At 0956 GMT Sobchak talks about Ukrainian moves for independence, noting that there are nuclear weapons on the republic's soil.

At 0958 GMT Nishanov says there will be no more speeches from floor once deputy Shcherbak has made the last one now. Shcherbak quotes from a Ukrainian draft on sovereignty, concerning control of the army.

Next a Deputy says a process of Balkanization is underway and talks about Tajik collaboration with coup leaders and the CPSU Central Committee during state of emergency, criticizing Makhkamov by name.

At 1007 GMT Deputy Lisitskiy talks about what he views as the main aims of the coup attempt: to remove Yeltsin, kill the new Union treaty and put a stop to privatization. But Russia withstood. Lisitskiy says the

CPSU supported the coup, as did the directors of big enterprises who are all under its influence. He cites examples of collaboration.

At 1015 GMT Deputy Igityan says this will be his last speech at the Supreme Soviet, although not because he intends to shoot himself. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 28 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Igityan's speech.]

Next at 1033 GMT Belozertsev says he was pleased to hear Gorbachev analyzing the reasons for the coup, including old structures. Legislators are themselves guilty for many of the conflicts between the Center and the republics. The apparatus of the Supreme Soviet is also to blame, as it was penetrated by former KGB staffers who are loyal to the ruling elite. He calls for the replacement of the head of the Supreme Soviet press center and other unnamed functionaries. The coup did not need to cause bloodshed, he says. Lukyanov could have appeared before the Supreme Soviet and blamed Gorbachev for the cold and hunger of last winter and had him replaced. But the coup needed to return the fear of the past. All the evidence is that the army supported the coup, he goes on, adding that KGB troops should become part of the armed forces. The collegium of the KGB should be dismissed and the archives should be seized. It was easy to subvert the army, because illegality within it was already rife he continues. The commission on organized crime headed by Golik should be dissolved; it is not doing anything useful. Supreme Soviet should only deal with functions delegated to it by republics.

At 1049 GMT, Deputy Burykh says nobody is governing the country at the moment. He continues: In his speech yesterday, Gorbachev does not seem to have realized how acute the situation is; it is changing from one moment to the next. The Supreme Soviet needs a strategy. A declaration that the USSR Constitution is in force throughout the Soviet Union is needed. The president must act; people's rights are being trampled. For example, the arrest of Rubiks was not legal. The law must be upheld. Burykh calls on republican leaders to halt the disintegration of statehood. He says that the wave of political revanchism, seeking to sweep the communists away, must be resisted. Burykh urges that a properly worked out Union treaty be adopted as soon as possible.

At 1059 GMT, Alekseyev, head of the constitutional committee, takes the floor to respond to a question. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 28 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Alekseyev's speech.]

At 1104 GMT, Nishanov begins reading announcements.

At 1105 GMT, the relay ends while Nishanov is reading announcements. The studio announcer says the session will resume at 1300 GMT.

The relay resumes at 1300 GMT with Nishanov, chairing the session, asking deputies to register. There are 450 deputies present.

At 1309 GMT, Ivan Laptev, sitting next to Nishanov, reads a note from deputies who ask for Yeltsin to speak at the Supreme Soviet session. Everyone agrees to him passing the note to Yeltsin. Nishanov reads a note from Alekseyev who says the Constitutional Supervision Committee is continuing its work.

At 1310 GMT, Nishanov asks deputies to keep their remarks to 5 minutes. Kozin speaks for the secretariat. He reads a note from various people recommending Shevardnadze as the new foreign minister.

At 1312 GMT, Sazonov, speaking from the floor, asks deputies not to laud themselves and their role in resisting the coup.

Another deputy then asks for the coup leaders to come and answer the Supreme Soviet's questions.

At 1314 GMT, another unidentified deputy says that everyone in the hall knows everyone else's views from past speeches, as Sazonov has said.

At 1315 GMT, Nishanov limits the speakers to those who are now standing. A deputy says that when Yeltsin and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev speak here they must pay attention to the republics.

At 1317 GMT, Umalatova says the country is out of control. There is no leader of the country. There will be a congress on 2 September, Umalatova continues. The present Presidium is incapable of preparing for the congress. A vote is taken on Umalatova's proposal that Sobchak should become Supreme Soviet chairman. The motion is defeated.

At 1320 GMT, a female deputy says from the floor that the Russian Federation parliament are heroes, but it is time to end the list of heroes. She proposes asking those who speak to be limited to those who have specific questions about the country. She asks for speeches that are either confessions or accusations to be rejected.

At 1322 GMT, a deputy says the ground is being prepared for kangaroo trials of those who think differently, as in the 1930's. The August coup has shown how we value democracy, the deputy continues. Let us start a normal life.

At 1325 GMT, Sulakshin says that party secretaries and military men who have lost their jobs are gathering. We must be protected from a threat from them. He proposes ceasing discussions and adopting decisions on the second issue on the agenda.

At 1326 GMT, Petrushenko speaks in support of Sulakshin. He says people are being removed from their posts purely because they remained at their posts ensuring the safety of nuclear reactors and arsenals.

At 1328 GMT, Laptev reports on a conversation he just had with Boris Yeltsin. Laptev says: "Comrades: I have just spoken to the president of the RSFSR, Boris Nikolayevich. Unfortunately, he cannot address our session. He apologizes for this. There is only one reason for this: He is preparing to deliver an address to the congress. He is not keen to speak twice on, basically, the central issues. This must be viewed the right way. He said that Khasbulatov had already spoken and reported on agreed positions. Yeltsin himself will speak at the congress."

At 1329 GMT, Lapkin, from the Ukraine, says that those Ukrainians who stood with their Russian brothers are being repaid with anti-Ukrainian hysteria. Gorbachev is shown sitting on his own in front of a red flag, as in the previous session.

At 1331 GMT, a deputy proposes hearing the chairman of the editorial commission on what decisions it has reached on the present point of the agenda.

At 1332 GMT, Belozertsev proposes turning off people's microphones if they stray from the point.

At 1334 GMT, Ryzhov says he will conform with Belozertsev's proposal and keep to the point. He says it was a strange putsch. It is important to give the instigators an open trial. One of the results of the coup is the real sovereignty of the republics. Problems remaining in the devolution process are nuclear weapons, nuclear power stations, and ecological problems. He welcomes depatriation and the neutralisation of the CPSU. He says that certain KGB troops are trying to take illegal measures, unhappy at being transferred to the Ministry of Defense. Measures such as the abolition of the Defense Council should be taken to guarantee that another coup does not take place. The system of political control of nuclear weapon throughout the USSR is insufficient. The Security Council should be renovated. Many structures need reforming. He says that there are many mysteries concerning the recent coup, including Lukyanov's activity. He winds up by saying that the main theme of his speech has been the security of citizens.

At 1350 GMT, it is announced that the initiative group is to meet this evening to organize interaction.

At 1351 GMT, Gayer states that the coup has consequences, negative and positive, for the country and the whole world. Gorbachev is shown shuffling papers. She says that the transport and food situation is serious in the Far East. In Chukotka the tundra is burning. The vast majority of Far East people did not recognize the plotters. They all took the side of the Russian Government. She recalls the tapping of phones and arrests that went on under the likes of Yarov and his cronies. She asks for the work of expert commissions on the sale of timber to be carried to its conclusion. Information on the state of the country arrived in the Far East with approximately a 24-hour delay. She feels the toppling of monuments, such as Dzerzhinskiy's, is totally wrong.

At 1402 GMT, a deputy reads a telegram from Makhkamov in Tajikistan, denying accusations made about him this morning. There were no measures to introduce a state of emergency in Tajikistan.

At 1404 GMT, Bimbayev says the coup must not happen again. The causes must be investigated. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wavered, and this was a cause of the coup. The Supreme Soviet did not persistently resolve problems. This was also a cause. We could not force the president to stop the bloodshed in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. This has to be stopped to instill confidence. The president has to think hard, because today the Russian parliament is resolving all issues. Russians should be given their due for stopping the coup, but other republics should not be pushed away by praising them. The independent declarations of various republics are playing into the hands of the coup organizers and causing the union's collapse. Will the republics resolve their problems quicker separately? The Supreme Soviet is being blamed for the make-up of the Cabinet of Ministers. The vice president was Gorbachev's choice. From now on people's deputies should be able to discuss candidacies.

At 1411 GMT, Amanova says she appreciates what Gayer said of the problems of the Soviet Far East. She agrees that information also arrived in Turkmenia with delays. None of the directives from the extraordinary committee were fulfilled by the republic. Niyazov left the Politburo on the same day as Nazarbayev. Turkmenia was ready to sign the new Union treaty. Delaying the new Union treaty is tantamount to a continuation of the putsch. Changing borders is unacceptable. Yeltsin and Gorbachev must not show the least chauvinism in this regard.

At 1419 GMT, deputies vote on ceasing debate after Vladislavlev's speech. The vote is 370 for, 25 against, and 9 abstentions.

At 1421 GMT, Vladislavlev says the situation has qualitatively changed since before the coup. A treaty on an interim government should be signed immediately by all the leaders of the republics which will honor international commitments and carry out a consistent credit and financial policy. The Security Council should be subject to interrepublic committees for coordinating policy, defense security, foreign policy, finance and taxes, banking, human rights, etc. This statement was made by the movement for democratic reforms. Vladislavlev calls for calm and says the document will be distributed during the break.

At 1427 GMT, President Mikhail Gorbachev begins speaking. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 28 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's speech.]

At 1520 GMT, Gorbachev concludes his speech by calling on the people to help him prepare for the Congress.

At 1521 GMT, Nishanov announces that those speakers who were unable to speak can do so tomorrow. He announces meetings by various committees. He then says there will be a break until 1630 GMT.

At 1523 GMT, the studio announcer says the live relay will continue at 1630 GMT.

The relay resumes at 1630 with Nishanov, chairing the session, asking the deputies to register. There are 433 present.

A deputy then announces that Yegor Yakovlev has been appointed head of Gosteleradio and proposes to endorse him by the Supreme Soviet. Another deputy from the floor protests the ban on newspapers.

Deputy Namazova then proposes to give the floor to Ismailov.

Another deputy protests Ryzhov's statement about the deputy's committee, and he clarifies the current whereabouts and tasks of the Chuguyev division. He maintains that the law on general military service was open to public discussion.

A female deputy then urges everybody to approve the agenda.

Deputy Kirillov, speaking from the floor, expresses disagreement with the current version of the Union treaty. He says Russia dominates the political scene and this must be reflected in the treaty. He adds that the republics should form another center to counterbalance Russia's domination.

Deputy Voskoboynikov argues with Kirillov's proposal since it breeds inequality between republics.

Deputy Ignatovich speaks next and urges greater efficiency in work. Another deputy calls for changing the procedure of appointing government officials. Deputy Momotova asks why the Supreme Soviet presidium is so slovenly in its work.

At 1654 GMT, Deputy Arozova reminds everybody that according to new regulations there is no need to endorse Yakovlev.

Deputy Safarov then speaks against the use of television to spread the Orthodox faith.

At 1656 GMT, a deputy discusses the Chuguyev division: it arrived from Eastern Europe, lives in appalling conditions, and feels persecuted.

Deputy Reshetnikov then takes the floor to propose members of a commission for preparing the extraordinary Congress; Nishanov is to be its chairman.

A deputy from the floor proposes changes in the commission.

Another deputy proposes another change. More proposals follow.

Deputy Kirillov proposes including Sobchak in the commission. Reshetnikov says Sobchak is too busy in Leningrad.

More proposals follow, after which Deputy Strelkov calls upon the deputies to be reasonable.

A deputy then says Alksnis should not be on the commission since he supported the State Committee for the State of the Emergency during the coup.

At 1713 GMT, Nishanov puts the commission to a vote; there will be a separate vote on Alksnis later. The vote is 387 for, two against, with nine abstentions.

Deputy Kozyrev then charges that Soyuz is immoral.

Deputy Pupkevich from Soyuz says his group had nothing to do with the coup.

A vote is then held on including Lisitskiy on the commission. The result is 210 for, 113 against, with 55 abstentions; he is not included.

At 1721 GMT, Nishanov calls upon Soyuz to withdraw Alksnis' nomination. There is disagreement with this proposal, and a vote is taken on including Alksnis. The result is 163 for, 148 against, with 54 abstentions; he is not included.

At 1723 GMT, Nishanov proposes a draft decision on forming an editorial commission with Sobchak as its chairman. The vote is 354 for, seven against, with 15 abstentions; the commission is approved.

Further discussion on the composition of the committee is followed by a call by Deputy Ryumin to hear the plotters. Nishanov replies that this issue is too serious to be decided by voting.

At 1729 GMT, Deputy Ismailov reads a statement from the Azerbaijan delegation condemning the coup plotters but calling for an ease in tensions. The Azerbaijan delegation rejects provocative and slanderous accusations of Mutalibov—only Azerbaijanis can evaluate his actions.

Deputy Balayan then recaps Smirnov's remarks for President Gorbachev's benefit.

Nishanov notes that a special group has been sent to the NKAO to help solve the conflict.

At 1741 GMT, Nishanov says a draft resolution on the Supreme Soviet's role in the coup has been distributed and will be discussed tomorrow.

At 1743 GMT, the session adjourns until 28 August and the live relay ends.

Roundup of Session

LD2808082291 Moscow TASS in English 0756 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, or parliament, will continue its work today. On Tuesday legislators discussed the situation in the country following the failed coup.

Deputies spoke about priority measures and acts to preclude the possibility of coup recurrence.

Most speakers stressed that the parliament's silence and inactivity during the coup, the delay of its convocation testified to the parliament's inability to cope with its constitutional functions.

They said the main political task of the day was to mobilize all forces in order to sign the union treaty which they described as the only way to stabilise the situation in the country's economy and pull it out of the crisis. Speakers noted that the democratic forces would have to shoulder the entire responsibility for taking the country out of the critical situation.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his address at the session that the Soviet Union must be preserved as a union of sovereign states. He spoke with anxiety about the centrifugal tendencies in republics after the failed coup.

Gorbachev supported proposals to make amendments in the new Union treaty and said he would resign if he fails to keep the union intact.

The Democratic Reform Movement proposed a programme for pulling the country out of the crisis. It envisages the prompt signing by the heads of all republics of the treaty on the introduction in the country of a special administration for the duration of the transition period. During this period all problems should be settled which relate to the proclamation of independence by the treaty signatories, economic stabilisation, ensuring the country's security and honouring the Soviet Union's earlier international economic and political pledges.

In the afternoon, the parliament approved members of the commission to prepare the Congress of the People's Deputies and the editing commission to prepare the Soviet parliament's draft resolution on the role played by the leadership of the USSR Supreme Soviet and bodies of state authority in the events of August 19 to 21, 1991.

Deputies put off until today's session the discussion of the draft resolution on the situation in the country following the coup d'etat.

End to President's Special Powers Proposed

LD2808012991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] On the evening of 27 August people's deputies of the USSR were handed for examination the draft resolution of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the situation which has arisen in the country in connection with the coup. The draft notes in particular that the establishment of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and the introduction of the emergency in individual regions of the USSR were actively supported by the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, which tried to activate all the country's party structures to help the SCSE.

The position taken by the supreme Union state bodies of power and administration helped the tragic development of events. It is noted that the Presidium of the country's Supreme Soviet displayed inaction toward, and that the Chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet displayed direct connivance with, the group of conspirators. It is noted that the USSR Procurator's office did not do its duty.

In view of this, the Supreme Soviet is to acknowledge the inadequacy of the structure of the supreme bodies of power and administration and of the law enforcement bodies of the country and revoke all the special powers invested in the president of the USSR.

The draft plans to suspend the activity of the leading bodies of the CPSU throughout the country's territory. The relevant bodies of the Ministry of the Interior are to ensure safekeeping of its material wealth and archives, and banking institutions are to cease all operations connected with the monetary funds of the CPSU.

The question is also raised of the country's Supreme Court examining the question of the liquidation of the CPSU on the basis of the acts it has committed as envisaged by Article 3 Part 2 of the USSR Law on Public Associations.

Lukyanov, Petrushenko Interviewed Before Session

PM2708143091 Moscow TRUD in Russian
27 Aug 91 pp 1,2

[Report from the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet by correspondents N. Dorofeyev and N. Kishkin, incorporating interviews with Anatoliy Lukyanov and N. Petrushenko, one of the leaders of the "Soyuz" group, prior to opening of session: "Time For Vision"]

[Excerpt] I don't think anything like it had happened before. A full hour before the session opened the foyer was abuzz: Deputies and journalists were bursting to impart what had been building up in their hearts during this tragic period for the country. How could it all have happened, who is to blame, and, most important of all, what do we do now? Many deputies, shaken by the

August putsch, were trying to understand what mistakes they themselves had made, what they failed to see, given that a handful of adventurists was able to shake an immense country in a matter of moments.

As soon as A. Lukyanov put in an appearance he was surrounded by journalists. Questions, questions, questions... We had questions to ask too.

[IZVESTIYA] "Anatoliy Ivanovich, your statement on the Union treaty torpedoed the signing of it, set for 20 August..."

[Lukyanov] "No, it did not torpedo it. An accord could have been reached on the 20th on an addendum to it and then signed, and this still has to be discussed, or there could have been agreement on amendments to the treaty, which is being done at the moment. Third, I said that the treaty must be signed as it stands, and only then, during the implementation process, should we delimit the powers of the Union and the republics."

[IZVESTIYA] "But did Gorbachev know you were going to publish the statement?"

[Lukyanov] "No."

[IZVESTIYA] "Why did you not make an appeal to the people on day one of the putsch?"

[Lukyanov] "It was futile..."

There were others too whose awareness of their own mistakes was less than obsessive. We approached N. Petrushenko, one of the leaders of the "Soyuz" group, which was pretty much to blame for kindling anti-perestroika hysteria, and asked him what position he had adopted. The reply was perplexing:

[Petrushenko] "My position today is as follows: It is for moviemakers or playwrights to comment on the so-called military coup, not the military, so ask Gelman, he is an expert on shows."

[IZVESTIYA] "And who wrote this show?"

[Petrushenko] "I believe you journalists will answer that question. And we will look forward to reading it. The true author, no doubt, is the one who had most to gain. The one who entered the Kremlin on a white horse."

[IZVESTIYA] "Do you not feel personally responsible?"

[Petrushenko] "Our deputies' group, me included, have always demanded tough, unpopular, emergency measures. The only difference is that we were demanding that they be carried out by constitutional, legal means."

[IZVESTIYA] "What do you think of the notorious 'Appeal to the People,' which was signed by 12 authors, including the conspirator Varennikov?"

[Petrushenko] "I almost entirely share the opinion expressed in that appeal."

After that conversation it was clear that the session debate was not going to be easy: Would there be other deputies who would be unwilling to cast a critical eye over what had happened? [passage omitted]

Martirosyan: 'No Mercy' for Coup Culprits

LD2808161791

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 28 August carries a 5-minute report by correspondent Yevgeniy Zhrebenev from the USSR Supreme Soviet. He begins by noting that any listeners who have been following the direct relay "will have noticed how representatives of that influential group of deputies which, long before the state committee for the state of emergency [SCSE] were calling for a state of emergency to be introduced, have gradually been reaching for the microphone. I mean the Soyuz group of deputies, which was set up with the assistance—if not on the direct initiative—of Lukyanov." Lukyanov himself has spoken, as has Colonel Alksnis, "who directly called for the measures undertaken by the SCSE conspirators. The deputies reacted in different ways to Colonel Alksnis' speech, a speech in which he essentially cast doubt upon the guilt of the conspirators."

Zhrebenev then interviews in the foyer USSR people's deputy Colonel Vilen Arutyunovich Martirosyan, who says that in contrast to Alksnis, he has always opposed the use of force. "It is quite obvious now that the Soyuz group was implicated": the eight ringleaders could not have carried the affair out on their own, he says. "I think that the Soyuz group was involved, the reactionary generals were involved, and the ideological inspiration and organizer was Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov. And unless we today take decisive measures against those who called for the use of force, we shall not move forward. It follows from this that we must use all possible means to purge...[corrects himself] to make the way clearer so that people's lives are made easier. I think Alksnis is wrong to demand that Kryuchkov and the other junta spokesmen be allowed to explain their position, because I am personally not convinced that at that time some persons who were used to be in the NKVD will not come along and help them, and then we will have another junta." The culprits must be brought to account, and "no mercy should be shown to the guilty", he affirms. "I'm more than convinced that if they had won, all we members of the inter-regional group—of which I am a member of the coordinating council—would have been arrested."

Radio Rossii newsreader Pustovoyt adds: "Everyone has the right to his personal opinion. As for mine, it coincides with the point of view expressed in President Boris Yeltsin's decree", and he goes on to quote the articles of the USSR Constitution covering the case.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Discusses Russian-Ukrainian Relations

OW2808201591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev told journalists that he had spoken on Wednesday with the President of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, and could not see any reason why the Ukraine, which recently declared itself independent, should not join a new union.

Gorbachev explained the remarks by the Russian leadership regarding territorial issues between the two republics as a reaction to a critical situation. He also said that Russia was concerned that "our union and our friendship" be preserved. He defined the Ukrainian stance as measures taken with self defence in mind.

"The union cannot survive without the Ukraine and, I think, the Ukraine cannot survive without the Union", concluded Mr. Gorbachev. He expressed optimism about the outcome of the negotiations of the Russian delegation in Kiev.

Gorbachev Decrees Dismiss KGB Officials

LD2908101191 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT
29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday issued a decree appointing aviation Major-General Nikolay Stolyarov to head the Soviet KGB's personnel department.

Stolyarov will replace Lieutenant-General Vitaliy Ponomarev, who was relieved of his duties.

The president also issued a decree sacking the Soviet KGB's first deputy head Colonel-General Geniy Ageyev.

Grushko Dismissed

LD2808165291 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday issued a decree relieving Colonel General Viktor Grushko of his duties as first deputy chairman of the Soviet State Security committee.

Prilukov Dismissed

LD2808165491 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev relieved Lieutenant-General Vitaliy Prilukov of his duties as deputy chief of the KGB (USSR State Security Committee).

The decree signed today relieves Prilukov also of his duties as head of the KGB Department in charge of Moscow and the Moscow region.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin Popularity Up After Putsch

PM2808141391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 5

[Report by Ye. Dobrynina of the magazine VOSKRESENIE, written specially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, under the rubric "Public Opinion"; poll findings carry undated copyright symbol and attribution to the "Mneniye" service: "Since the Putsch Gorbachev's Popularity Has Risen 31.8 Percent")]

[Text] Hard on the heels of the events, the "Mneniye" ["Opinion"] sociological service polled 1,423 residents of Moscow 21-23 August.

—What is your opinion: Should the state of emergency now be reintroduced in our country?

"Definitely" was the reply of 2.2 percent of Muscovites; 3.2 percent said this was "desirable"; "don't know"—6.3 percent. "Undesirable"—23.9 percent. "In no circumstances!"—63.1 percent. "No comment"—1.3 percent.

Just a month ago it seemed that many people could dream of a "firm hand" and "tough measures." During a poll carried out by the "Mneniye" service in July among inhabitants of 18 Russian regions, 72.8 percent of respondents believed that the economic situation in the country is deteriorating and 42.9 percent said the same about the political situation. A month earlier, at the beginning of July, only 27.2 percent of Russian inhabitants polled did not fear losing their jobs at all, and only 8.5 percent did not need to seek additional income in connection with the price hike; also, 47.6 percent were in favor in principle of allowing citizens to possess their own firearms for self-defense. But had the creation of a mass democratic Russian party been announced then, only 15.6 percent of those polled would have joined it immediately or subsequently (62.3 percent would have refused point-blank).

In June 45.2 percent of Russians questioned wanted Gorbachev to resign (29.4 percent supported him). Some 57.8 percent favored Pavlov's resignation (10.7 percent were against). Ivan Silayev was supported by 39.2 percent.

After the attack and defeat of the ruling rightwingers, the popularity rating of political leaders changed abruptly. On 21-23 August 61.2 percent of those polled supported M.S. Gorbachev's return to the post of USSR president and only 19.7 percent demanded his resignation. Some 90.1 percent did not want to see Yanayev in power, 88.9 percent were opposed to Kryuchkov, and 76.6 percent of Muscovites were against Lukyanov. The "leaders in the unpopularity stakes" were Pavlov and Yazov, with 89.5 percent and 91.5 percent respectively voting against them. Meanwhile, the popularity of some figures has

soared to unprecedented heights: Khasbulatov (80.2 percent for, 4.6 percent against), Silayev (77.7 percent for, 6.9 percent against) and of course Yeltsin (91.1 percent for, 3.5 percent against). Let us recall, incidentally, that at the elections 12 June Yeltsin became RSFSR President with 57.3 percent of the votes.

The putsch has failed—but the crisis still has not passed. How to emerge from it is not fully clear. It is no coincidence that, having condemned and rejected the State Committee for the State of Emergency itself, Muscovites recognized that some of its slogans were not devoid of common sense...

—Do you agree that some newspapers and weeklies are engaged in irresponsible incitement? Is it necessary to temporarily halt their publication? Those were questions put immediately after the coup.

Approximately one-third of Muscovites agreed that it is necessary.

May the victors be not only stronger but also wiser than their vanquished enemies...

Arbatov Views Gorbachev's Role, Reforms

PM2808151691 Paris LE FIGARO in French
26 Aug 91 p 10

[Article by Georgiy Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute: "Gorbachev, the Main Obstacle to Reforms"]

[Text] For 18 months now President Mikhail Gorbachev has disappointed me more and more.

I was in Helsinki when the fascist coup took place in Moscow.

I honestly sympathized with Gorbachev with all my heart—I was very worried about what would happen to him and impatient to see him return—and I was on the point of forgetting that he himself was the main architect of the conspiracy by a handful of unscrupulous traitors placed in key positions—a situation which brought the country to the edge of the abyss.

Indeed, it was not just my country but the whole world which was at stake: After all, for three days, the biggest nuclear potential in the world was in the hands of criminal adventurers ready for anything. Unfortunately people in the West did not always immediately realize that and on the first day I heard many naive and ridiculous commentaries. Fortunately, that did not last.

Resorting to Hollow Rhetoric

And the miracle happened. Unarmed citizens, my compatriots led by a handful of courageous officials—Yeltsin and others who helped in those critical days—resisted and defeated the military machine and the biggest secret services in the world.

Gorbachev returned to Moscow. I hoped that he would come back as a leader determined to make a new beginning, a leader who had learned the bitter lesson of the past few days—a man with his eyes open, having understood what position to take and where to place his closest aides.

Gorbachev's very first initiatives bitterly disappointed me. I do not intend to dwell on the fact that on his return to Moscow, he did not deem it necessary to go to the enormous meeting outside the Russian parliament. There he ought to have paid warm tribute to the inhabitants of Moscow, to Yeltsin and his companions, to all those who had risked their lives to save the country—and, who knows, the whole world—from disaster, to those who also delivered him and his family and who probably saved them from death.

I do not intend to point out that at the beginning of his first public appearance after the putsch, he did not express regrets, he did not apologize for his lack of discernment and his irresponsibility, and the rash way in which he placed criminals and adventurers in key positions in the country, and for turning a deaf ear to the numerous warnings about the imminence of danger.

Worse was to come. Once again Gorbachev resorted to hollow rhetoric about his socialist commitment and his plans to reform the Communist Party.

Worst of all, Gorbachev, although only on a "temporary" basis, appointed people implicated in the plot to key positions in the country—people like General Mikhail Moiseyev or people close to the conspirators.

No, all the signs are that Gorbachev has not made a new beginning. He has not removed his blinkers, he has not reassessed his terrible self-confidence, boosted by the "Gorbymania" in the Western countries.

The Demilitarization of the Soviet Union

Thus, Gorbachev himself, the man whose name is associated with the start of these reforms, could well prove to be the major problem for the reformers. By that I mean his efforts—as shown by his initial decisions—to relieve some people of some of their responsibilities, to protect a large number of those who are unwilling and incapable of going ahead with the process of the country's democratic reform, and to maintain his former policy of constant hesitation and eternal compromise which led the country to economic bankruptcy and political disaster.

What should we do now? Fire Gorbachev? No. Definitely not. Nobody is yet capable of occupying that position and we cannot afford the long and painful procedures involved in changing presidents.

Can the West help us? Yes, it can. By distancing itself from "Gorbymania" and paying closer attention, among other things, to the views of those who, by restoring

order in the past few days, have proved to be the real leaders of the country and of the current democratic reform.

Allow me to mention some names: Boris Yeltsin, of course, the main hero of these August days; Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev; Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian parliament; Aleksandr Yakovlev, former adviser to Mr. Gorbachev; former foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze; Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Republic; Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian parliament's foreign relations committee; Gennadiy Burbulis, secretary of state of the Russian government; and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The West, through its foreign policy, must help the demilitarization of the Soviet Union instead of hindering it. Indeed, if there was still a fear that the monstrous war machine might escape all control and that the main threat comes from this Frankenstein's monster, those fears ought to have been swept away by the events this August.

Foreign Ministry Urges Shevardnadze Appointment

LD2808132191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1245 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—USSR Foreign Ministry staff have appealed for Eduard Shevardnadze to be appointed to the post of foreign minister, a TASS correspondent has been told by Igor Ivanov, chief of the general secretariat of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

There have been meetings of labor collectives in sections of the Foreign Ministry during the last couple of days, said Igor Ivanov. By an overwhelming majority, they decided to appeal to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, leaders of the Union republics, and leaders of the USSR Supreme Soviet to appoint Eduard Shevardnadze to the post of minister of foreign affairs. The diplomat also said that Foreign Ministry staff have adopted an appeal to Eduard Shevardnadze informing him of their decisions and requesting a positive response to this initiative.

Boris Pankin Appointed New Foreign Minister

LD2808185391 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today issued a decree appointing Boris Pankin the Soviet foreign minister.

The appointment is subject to confirmation by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament).

30 Ambassadors Recalled for 'Consultations'

AU2908071891 Paris AFP in English 0704 GMT
29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 29 (AFP) — Thirty Soviet ambassadors who voiced support for last week's abortive coup by communist hardliners have been recalled for "consultations," the Russian news agency RIA reported.

Foremost among them are Leonid Zamyatin, the Soviet ambassador in London, and German Gventsadze, ambassador to Ireland, the agency said late Wednesday [28 August], citing a "well-informed" unidentified Soviet diplomat.

The recall coincides with the appointment on Wednesday of Boris Pankin, former ambassador to Czechoslovakia, as new Soviet foreign minister. Pankin took the lead among Soviet diplomats in condemning the coup bid.

A Soviet Embassy spokesman in London said Wednesday that Zamyatin's recall was "usual diplomatic practice" and could be connected with British Prime Minister John Major's visit to the Soviet Union on Sunday.

Ambassador to Albania Interviewed on Putsch

AU2808191191 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
24 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador Viktor Yefrimovich Nerubaylo by Sokol Gjoka; place and date not given: "Triumph of Democracy in the Soviet Union"]

[Text] [Gjoka] What do you think of the events that took place in the Soviet Union?

[Nerubaylo] The events that took place in the Soviet Union were an anticonstitutional attempt to seize power by high-level state leaders. If I may use a metaphor, it was a neo-Stalinist grimace. The coup d'etat was a criminal act by a group of people who supported the obsolete thinking of conservative forces and who tried to destroy something sacred to the Soviet people—the process of perestroika and democratization in all fields of life. This act shocked the whole world and was a shameful failure. It could not have been otherwise. It was against the will of the people.

[Gjoka] What did such figures as Yanayev, Yazov, and the KGB chief represent before and during the coup?

[Nerubaylo] Their participation in the coup d'etat against perestroika clearly revealed their true political faces. They were supporters of the policy of a strong hand. From the very start, their aims were destined to suffer a defeat. Their behavior clearly showed their conception of the Soviet Union's future. I repeat, their participation in the coup d'etat shows that they were people who paid lip-service to the process of democratization, but who really wished to halt and reverse it, and

to return to the methods of organizing society used in Stalin's time, which were superseded in the Soviet Union....

[Gjoka] Do you think that perestroika and the figure of Gorbachev will now assume new dimensions in the Soviet Union?

[Nerubaylo] Without a shadow of doubt. The statement made by Gorbachev at his news conference and his call to the Soviet people show that the main lesson is that we should move more consistently and determinedly toward radical democratic changes. This and only this, according to Gorbachev's statement and my own deep convictions, is the only solution to the difficulties Soviet society is at present experiencing. I consider that the main guarantee of accelerating the democratic processes and consistently enforcing them lies in full support for President Gorbachev from all democratic forces in the Soviet Union.

[Gjoka] Something personal. What did you feel when you heard about the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union?

[Nerubaylo] I felt in a very difficult position. I want to say that my personal conscience and the consciences of our embassy staff are clear. How did we feel and how did we act? You said this is a confidential, personal question. I can reply that the Soviet Embassy in Tirana did not act on a single instruction of the Committee of the State of Emergency.

[Gjoka] We tried to reach you on the day the coup took place, but we were told you were not in Albania. We thought that they had summoned you urgently to Moscow.

[Nerubaylo] No, no. I was not in Moscow. I was in Greece, at our embassy there.

[Gjoka] Do you think that Gorbachev and Yeltsin will now lead the processes of democratization in the Soviet Union in tandem?

[Nerubaylo] President Gorbachev has expressed high appreciation of the role of Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Federation, in overcoming the coup, and I think they will join in efforts to deepen the process of democratization.

[Gjoka] Do you think that our newspapers depicted the events in the Soviet Union fairly?

[Nerubaylo] I want to express my thanks to your newspaper, ZERI I POPULLIT, and to other newspapers for their portrayal of recent events in the Soviet Union. I also thank your president and the Albanian Government for their feeling of solidarity with President Gorbachev and the Soviet people in their efforts to foil the coup d'etat and to establish constitutional order as soon as possible in all spheres of state life in our country.

[Gjoka] Thank you.

Bakatin Interviewed on New Role of KGB

LD2808225791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Interview with KGB chief Vadim Bakatin by Sergey Dorenko; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The Vesti program spoke to Vadim Bakatin today. Our special correspondent, Sergey Dorenko, was the first journalist whom the new man in charge at the Lubyanka agreed to meet.

[Dorenko] Vadim Viktorovich, you and Iron Felix—somehow you seem out of place in this chair. Why did you agree to take on this job? And when either President Gorbachev or President Yeltsin spoke provisionally with you about this, what orientation did they give you? What is your fundamental task?

[Bakatin] No, no one spoke to me provisionally, and I am lucky all the time that somehow, in any sort of complex situation, I have to make a decision on the spot at the gathering, and I made that decision insofar as I was called to that meeting of the nine, attended by all the presidents—Gorbachev and Yeltsin and Nazarbayev and Karimov and Akayev and the other presidents. At the gathering, the request was put to me: We ask you to head this department.

Immediately I told them: You are sending me to the department which I have said on more than one occasion should be eliminated. So it turns out that I have come to destroy the Committee for State Security. What are you thinking of? I am simply—just read my speech—I spoke about combining the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]. I spoke about the separation of the intelligence service. On this, I had some—perhaps not totally specific, but still—I did have my ideas.

If we are talking about the KGB, then I can tell you directly that the KGB is of course an enormous monopoly, and it is necessary to part with it as soon as possible. And this process is already taking place. These KGB special purpose forces have already ceased to exist. They have been handed over to the Ministry of Defense. That is the first thing. So, if anyone is still afraid that the KGB has its own forces, well today, they can rest easy about this.

Now, the presidential guard, and all those main directorates which were occupied with problems connected for example with serving all those Kremlin...

[Dorenko, interrupting] The so-called "Nine".

[Bakatin] Yes, well what was called the main directorate of the guard and the second main directorate were split into two. All of this has already been passed on to the president.

Government communications, and enciphering and deciphering: Incidentally, that is a colossal service and today, this has been taken to the president, and I hope

will soon sign this. A state committee will be formed which will not be subordinate either to the KGB or the MVD. It will not be subordinate to anyone. A state committee that can work either with the executive power, or with the Supreme Soviet—that is just an issue of structure, that can be settled.

Military counterespionage: Why do we need military counterespionage? For goodness sake, let that be for the Army. Why do we need counterespionage in the MVD? I consider that MVD counterespionage should be in the MVD.

Archives: There is a Russian presidential decree concerning handing over the archives. It is true that we have reached an agreement with Boris Nikolayevich, and he has agreed that we should not simply take everything and hand it over. In the first place, there are various types of archives. There are the archives that have enormous historical value which, for example, reveal all these different crimes, the battle against so-called dissidence and all sorts of things.

[Dorenko] And the operational archives?

[Bakatin] Even the operational archives are not all that terrible. There are even more archives. There are cards on agents, cards on so-called informers. There are millions of people.

[Dorenko] In society now there are people demanding that they be brought into the open.

[Bakatin] While I am sitting in this chair—I do not know, I am not saying that I am clinging to this, this is not the point—simply, this should most categorically not be done. Society should not be disrupted, nor should we yet again introduce into every family this sort of fear, this sort of settling of accounts. It is not to be tolerated.

[Dorenko] There is a view—perhaps it is one of the views guiding you—I would simply like to know. If these archives will be declassified, then many of our prominent politicians, deputies and so on will suffer. That is to say, is your main concern for them?

[Bakatin] No, I do not know. Perhaps here, we need specific talk of a specific person.

Commission To Investigate KGB Activities

LD2808171591 Moscow TASS in English
1645 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today issued a decree setting up a commission to enquire into the activities of the KGB and its agencies.

The commission will be headed by Chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Security Committee Sergey Stepashin.

The commission is entrusted with drawing up before October 26, 1991, a resolution on the role played by

KGB agencies in the failed coup. It is expected to work out proposals to restructure KGB agencies and amend legislation regulating the activity of state security bodies.

The president orders all bodies of state authority and government, enterprises, establishments, organizations and officials to ensure access of commission members to all materials without exception and render all needed assistance to the commission.

The Soviet president's staff is entrusted with organizational and material provisions to ensure the commission's activity.

Archivist Views Secret Archives' Revelations

PM2808132991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by L. Osheverova: "Manuscripts Are Not Burning. What About Documents?"]

[Text] A large group of USSR people's deputies insistently suggested on 23 August that the country's president, M. Gorbachev, order KGB, USSR Defense Ministry, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and CPSU Central Committee archives to be sealed and taken under control immediately. The authors of the appeal reckon that this is necessary in order to urgently investigate all circumstances linked with the coup d'état.

We asked an experienced archivist, Anatoliy Stefanovich Prokopenko, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Committee for Archive Affairs, to comment on this decision.

[Prokopenko] The totalitarian system does have something to hide. Although the most recent documents that could shed light on how the conspiracy was prepared and carried out are most likely in the desks and safes of high-ranking functionaries, the archives store a tremendous amount of evidence relating to its prehistory—the ancient and recent chronicle of our country. The CPSU Central Committee archives and the party archives, of which there are a large number in the country, contain plenty of damning, terrible material about all "fateful" events, starting with 1917, and the party's role in them. If they have not all been sealed yet or taken under control, that must be done immediately.

It is universally recognized that archives have been "erased" according to circumstance and historical zig-zags. A month ago historians were concerned at the unexpected destruction of Communists' personal registration forms that were alleged to have lapsed. No one knows what was or could have been destroyed with them. I remember documents regarding Lenin's Jewish relatives on his mother's side being removed from the October Revolution Central Archives.

Even we professional archivists know little about what is stored in the KGB archives. But I am sure that there will

be documents regarding genocide against our own people, the party apparatus' coordination of the KGB's work, and files on long-standing and recent informers. Those who tried on Friday to incite the people to ransack the Committee building were well aware of that.

Still, those who are interested in this had time to destroy important documents. These could have been burned, shredded in the special machines located in every archive, or hidden in countless basements and corridors. Or even at home. But the archives are so big that it is impossible to destroy and hide everything. I believe that all the so-called secret special archives will finally be open to the broad public and will switch to the jurisdiction of the state archive service. We will learn the truth about ourselves, however terrible and bleak it may be.

General Sterligov Describes Kryuchkov Arrest

PM2808165691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Interview with Major General A.N. Sterligov by I. Prelovskaya—date, place not stated; first paragraph is introduction: "How Kryuchkov Was Arrested"]

[Text] Speaking with a journalist on Moscow television, Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy mentioned the name of General Sterligov, chief of the defense staff set up in "the White House," a participant in the airplane flight to the Crimea to fetch the country's president, and one of those who was entrusted with the task of delivering V. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB, for arrest. I met with Major General Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sterligov, who has worked for many years in the country's KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and in the governmental organs of the Russian and Union Councils of Ministers.

[Prelovskaya] Much has already been said in recent days about the flight of the Rutskoy and Silayev group to Foros after the conspirators. But how did you fly out?

[Sterligov] The conspirators left for Foros at around 1400 hours, and we left at 1600 hours. As you know, they did not want to give us a plane. Gen. Dunayev, a Russian deputy, together with a group of officers and MVD college instructors, seized a plane at Vnukovo that had possibly been left for Yanayev. The group of about 50 men acted so decisively that the plane's security guards simply scattered. We took 25 officers of ranks ranging from major to colonel in the plane. Of course, the guards of the state dacha had the right to shoot without warning, but all the same, it is not so easy to fire on a group of colonels. The military airfield where they landed us looked like a trap. But we took an employee's car and managed to get to a militia post from where we could contact the right person in Sevastopol via city telephone. It turned out that an Il-62 was flying after us with crack security men headed by Plekhanov—65 of them. We figured that if Kryuchkov had summoned reinforcements to pursue us, we could be surrounded here. We deployed our forces. But their plane flew further on

toward the dacha, and we lost contact with them. Rutskoy and Silayev went off for talks, and we remained, keeping our plane in readiness. We had arranged that if Rutskoy did not send word within three hours, we would take measures. But communications with him were established.

[Prelovskaya] Plekhanov has already been written about. But what about Gen. Medvedev, who was always at Gorbachev's back?

[Sterligov] Unfortunately, he also abandoned the president... It is well known that Gorbachev did not receive the conspirators. And when the president arrived at the airfield, we sent word to Kryuchkov that he should board our plane, which had the president on board. It was important that he interpret this order as an invitation. Our people escorted him to the plane, but this was not yet an arrest. We did not know what he might have in his mind, or in his pocket. We only gave him to understand that his arrest was not yet envisaged. Who knew what ideas might occur to him? After all, Pugo committed suicide... We sat Kryuchkov at the other end of the cabin from the president. I let him in to the window seat and sat next to him. Before boarding the plane he was calm, but on the plane he began to feel uncomfortable, and although he tried to make out that he wanted to doze off, he spent the flight in a state of anxiety.

I tried to distract him by talking and watched to see that nothing would happen.

[Prelovskaya] Did you know him before?

[Sterligov] Well, of course. We had met several times on business when I worked in the USSR Council of Ministers... We landed at Vnukovo. People started going down the boarding steps, but we blocked off Kryuchkov in our compartment. I instructed one of the guards to search him, and we escorted Kryuchkov down the emergency steps. Russian Prosecutor Stepankov approached him and informed him that he was under arrest. Then Dunayev arrested Yazov.

[Prelovskaya] Did Kryuchkov talk to you about anything?

[Sterligov] He said: They say that there are many casualties, but according to my information, there were only three... He was agitated... He also asked: Did the population really see our actions as terrible? And he also said the following phrase: "Now it is the end of the committee."

Trubin Says Army Under Investigation

914B0332B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 33, Aug 91 p 6

[22 August 1991 interview with USSR Procurator General N. Trubin by A. Binev: "N. Trubin: I Was in Cuba"]

[Text] [Binev] Where were you during the putsch?

[Trubin] Unfortunately I was not in Moscow, I was abroad—in the Republic of Cuba. I returned only on 21 August.

[Binev] When did you open the criminal case against the putschists?

[Trubin] On the same day that I returned.

[Binev] Will the president of the USSR be considered in this criminal case as the victim, and do you intend to question him?

[Trubin] I want to ask him to agree to give evidence as a victim. I think that without his testimony we shall not have an accurate picture of what happened—the mechanism by which power was seized.

[Binev] How do you assess the actions of the army: Who acted for the putschists and who remained loyal to the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] (in the absence of the president of the USSR)?

[Trubin] It is difficult to make an assessment of the army. Those who acted on the side of the president of Russia essentially acted on the side of the president of the USSR. The army was carrying out an order. The most aware commanders understood that they should not change the Constitution of the USSR or the president of the USSR, to whom they had sworn their oath. Those who conducted themselves in this way deserve every approval.

[Binev] Has a criminal case been opened against those servicemen who took part in the killing at the underpass near the American Embassy?

[Trubin] It has, and the investigation is proceeding. We shall investigate all the episodes in this matter. It will be not only a "Kremlin" investigation, that is, with respect to the group inside the Kremlin, but also with respect to those who carried out their instructions.

[Binev] Let me tell you that yesterday it was made known by RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary S. Filatov to three ARGUMENTY I FAKTY journalists that immediately after the killing of the people in the underpass, associates of the RSFSR Procuracy went there to inspect the scene and the corpses. They were not allowed onto the scene. This was done by person whose identities have not been established. They also removed the corpses and dispatched them to the morgue while the associates from the RSFSR Procuracy were also not allowed into the morgue to carry out an inspection or conduct criminal and forensic studies, that is, to carry out their duties. The presidium secretary said that they will be insisting on an investigation of this episode and on establishing the identity of the persons who prevented the group from the Procuracy from having access to the bodies. Were you aware of this information?

[Trubin] Of course. Everything will be investigated. I understand that all of this will be done in the context of the putsch. The putschists, of course, have been trying to cover their tracks.

Investigators Ask Putsch Casualties To Testify

PM2808162491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Request from the Moscow Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] Valentin Nikolayevich Fokin, senior investigator of the Moscow City Prosecutor's Office, who is leading the investigation into the events which occurred on the night of August 20-21 on Kalinin Prospect leading to the death of three people, requests all those who received "injuries," to use the technical phrase, however slight they may have been, to come forward immediately (to 23-a Novokuznetskaya Street) or to phone on 233-08-15. This is extremely important, as it is essential for the investigation to form as full and thorough a conception of the scale of the events as possible.

Putschists 'Not Complaining' in Detention

PM2808221091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[G. Volynets and I. Kadulin report: "Yanayev Still Not Complaining About His Health"]

[Text] While the investigation is going on, officials of the Russian Prosecutor's Office are being sparing with information.

What had come to light by yesterday evening? The walks in the woods by the arrested members of the state of emergency committee have been terminated—they are all behind bars. V. Grushko, former deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, has acquired new status—he has been switched from detainee to arrestee. All those under guard, including former Vice President G. Yanayev, are keeping quiet and not complaining about their health or food. Yesterday evening Russian Federation General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov intended to visit the arrestees.

Putschists Failed To Heed Lenin on Seizing Power

PM2808132191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by M. Berger: "Putschists Lost Because They Were Bad Leninists"]

[Text] The former prime minister, who was taken to the Russian Prosecutor's Office late in the evening of 23 August, complained during the first few hours after his dismissal that the coup cadres proved too weak. He also voiced similar thoughts immediately after his appointment as premier. "The fault does not lie in the system," he claimed then, "the fault lies in people." Fortunately,

we had a chance to see for ourselves that a faulty system did not corrupt people. But the failed all-Union chief of the cadre department is indisputably correct in his statement at the prosecutor's office: The members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and those who prepared the coup with them resolved nothing and could resolve nothing. Representatives of the Marxist-Leninist party's Central Committee who joined the State Committee for the State of Emergency and carried out the coup, notably to preserve the state ideology that had hitherto held sway, read their classics—Lenin—a long time ago, if ever. If they had taken from the shelves a slim seven-page work by the leader entitled "Marxism and Insurrection" and followed the advice therein...

This is what Ilich suggested to the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party Central Committee in a letter written 26-27 September 1917.

In order to treat insurrection in a Marxist way, Lenin wrote, that is, like an art, at the same time we must not waste a minute and move loyal regiments to the most important points, arrest the government, send those detachments capable of dying against the Junkers and marauding divisions, not allow the enemy to approach the centers of the city, and immediately occupy the telegraph and telephone. We cannot, the leader warned, remain true to Marxism at the crucial moment if we do not treat insurrection as an art.

How fortunate that the putschists did not remain true to Marxism at the "crucial moment." In that case should we not change the punctuation in the well known phrase beloved of Pavlov and other figures? Take this version: Cadres resolve: everything! Naturally, the people are meant by cadres and everyone knows about "everything."

Gromov Dissociates Himself From Putschists

PM2908080491 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 2

[Yu. Kozyreva article: "General Gromov: 'Where Pugo And I Parted Company'"]

[Text] I would like to provide an explanation regarding the "Appeal to the People" published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 July this year.

Minister Pugo spoke to me on 19 July and said that an appeal was being prepared that would be signed by well-known names: Rasputin, Zykina, Bondarchuk, Bondarev. Bondarchuk subsequently did not sign. I replied that I had no objections in principle, but that I would of course have to read the text before signing. I flew off on vacation on 20 July and saw my name in the newspaper on 23 July.

What is my opinion of our present and our future? Our present is difficult and I expect only good things of the future. This is the third year that people in the country and abroad have designated me as a dictator and plotter.

In human terms I find this annoying and even disagreeable. I categorically dislike the word "coup." Nowadays a plot is impracticable. This may have been feasible in the 1930's-1950's, but not now—conditions will not permit. The situation in the country is such that it can only allow the initial moves of a coup to be carried out without achieving the end result. People will not agree to it, after all.

The most popular question of late is: "Where were you on 19 August?" I tell everyone: I was on vacation.

Transcript of Ministers' 19 Aug Remarks Published

PM2808164691 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 2

[N.N. Vorontsov transcript of USSR Cabinet of Ministers session 19 August 1991 1800-2100 under the rubric "No Commentaries": "If We Backtrack One Iota We Will Sacrifice Our Jobs and Our Lives. We Will Not Get a Second Chance"]

[Text] Present: V.S. Pavlov, V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, V.M. Velichko, V.I. Shcherbakov, N.P. Laverov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, B.F. Rakhimova, L.D. Ryabev, F.P. Senko.

Ministers: V.F. Konovalov, K.F. Katushev, B.Ye. Panyukov, I.N. Denisov, N.N. Gubenko, O.N. Soskovets, Yu.M. Volmer, B.M. Belousov, O.N. Shishkin, N.N. Vorontsov, L.I. Matyukhin, V.I. Shimko, N.I. Kotlyar, V.I. Chernovanov, V.A. Brezhnev, V.F. Paulman, M.I. Shchadov, V.Ye. Orlov, O.G. Anfimov, and others (I did not record everyone).

Chairmen of State Committees and USSR Cabinet of Ministers Committees: A.S. Isayev, V.N. Kirichenko, V.K. Gusev, Yu.A. Israel, L.I. Shvetsova, L.Ye. Davletova, V.M. Malyshev, V.V. Sychev, N.I. Rusak (I did not record everyone).

V.S. Pavlov: Are you prepared to work in a state of emergency? In principle we have agreed that the situation today is such that what we had decided is not being fulfilled. We will reach a situation whereby production will come to a standstill. We are not interested in political slogans. Do you or do you not agree with the statement of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers Presidium?

K.F. Katushev: An extended collegium sitting has been held. We heard the leadership statements and are fulfilling the tasks set by the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

V.Ye. Orlov: As of today the State Depot at the USSR People's Commissariat of Finances and so on are operating within a system of special protection.

V.V. Sychev (State Committee for Quality Control and Standards): No one is giving up all-Union standards. Standards will be maintained. I agree with you. Our sector needs order. People have long waited for this step.

L.Ye. Davletova: Light industry is on the brink of stopping because of sovereignties. Directors of enterprises are indignant because light industry was not in the draft Union treaty.

V.K. Gusev: We telephoned 100 enterprises. All of them support the appeal of the Committee for the State of Emergency. It would be frivolous to assess everything as OK ("Azot" in Kemerovo, Bashkir enterprises). The disintegration of the chemical industry has had a destructive effect. The mania for autonomy persists. We must not pull the chemical industry apart. As regards politics, if we backtrack one iota we will sacrifice our jobs and our lives. We will not get a second chance.

B.Ye. Panyukov (Ministry of Civil Aviation): We introduced the state of emergency too late. We must observe law and order in the country.

The Ministry of Machine Building: Mechanical engineers, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the engineering system are all "for." We saw what happened in Manege. We need to move forward more resolutely. There were about 700 people there.

V.S. Pavlov: I am opposed to sending in tanks. Let people walk about and talk. Not a battalion of "Stingers"...

A minister (?): Until midday, it was normal, but in the afternoon, there were the Russian leaflets.

V.S. Pavlov: That was the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] appeal written four months ago, I edited it myself (!!!).

V.V. Sychev: Thank God it happened this way.

V.S. Pavlov: There are some good-for-nothing people about! You cannot compare the Likhachev Automobile Plant and "Uralmash" with Manege Square.

The all-Union telephone network [vsesoyuznyy selektor]—deputy minister of power engineering: The mood is normal. There are no emergencies. Moscow's electric power stations have been taken under protection with no excesses occurring.

Deputy minister for food: It will be difficult as regards food. We need an inventory of what we have. The West will not give us anything.

The Minister of Railways: (gives a briefing on transportation measures).

Tizyakov: Speaks about the breakdown of the national economy and the need for emergency measures.

N.N. Vorontsov: My speech will consist of two parts.

1. Our collegium has adopted measures to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of the country's ecological safety service, which must operate under all conditions, like first aid. There is talk here of a single economic space in the country, but we have equal grounds for

talking about unity of ecological space. This needs united measures by the center, coordinated with the republics.

2. On my position in connection with what has happened. I am in a difficult position. I was recommended for my post by the USSR Supreme Soviet and appointed by President M.S. Gorbachev. It seems to me that all the other ministers are in the same position. It is not clear why we are avoiding this question.

As an RSFSR people's deputy, this morning I participated in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting and I think that you know about all the documents adopted by the Russian leadership, and about my position.

I offer my services as an RSFSR people's deputy and a minister in organizing contacts between the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Russian leadership in order to avoid further worsening of the situation. (V.S. Pavlov interrupts many times and asks questions. I did not manage to record them.)

V.I. Shcherbakov: The national economy must operate in any conditions. We cannot find credits in the coming hours and days. We must transfer to an emergency work schedule. We must not call directors in from the localities (with the exception of Moscow).

None of us came to work for a specific personality. At the moment the leadership's line is not clear to me. I will work honestly but I will determine my personal position later.

We know Tizyakov's and Starodubtsev's positions. Let the emergency committee express its attitude. I support discipline, but it is important to have forms and methods without returning to the methods of 1929. I would like to understand our position.

Yu.A. Maslyukov: I support a decision by the Cabinet of Ministers Presidium on the Union treaty. There should be financial and economic support. Let us stop the reduction of staffs.

L.D. Ryabev: We must move toward the constitution to the utmost degree. Extend the ministries' rights. We must abolish directors' appointment by election. We must tell the masses the harsh truth. And protect the basic sectors of industry.

V.Kh. Doguzhiyev: My attitude to the Union treaty: I support the treaty but it needs serious further work.

Our place in this situation (and the place of each and every one of us). We have spoken of the need for emergency measures many times over a period of several years. We are the executive power, that is, apart from political views, we must also be responsible for order in the state.

But all this does not mean a return to totalitarianism. The center should take on itself a guarantee for human

rights (including economic human rights). Tough measures in the economy are also taken in capitalist countries. We must review approaches to the 1992 plan (we need to strengthen the union centralization)

N.N. Gubenko: My sector does not have an industrial potential, but we have a moral and spiritual potential. It would be very depressing and unacceptable if there are no bridges built to link up with the creative intelligentsia, although there are also some provocateurs among them who want blood to be shed.

At the moment all this is beyond the framework of the law.

M.I. Shchadov: The situation in the country is very complex. Certain comrades are oversimplifying the state of affairs, but the situation is changing by the hour, and there is no point in oversimplifying it. If we do not introduce a state of emergency in the Kuzbass and Vorkuta today, then the miners will take action tomorrow and their blood will flow.

A decision has been taken on the miners' strikes. This is a decision of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet.

V.S. Pavlov: After all, there will be a Congress of USSR People's Deputies, it has already been announced. In the final analysis, we need to support the Union treaty. But we would like the treaty to stipulate the rights to transfer responsibility to the Union. We as professionals have an opinion on the single economic space and on bread and heat. There is no corn or groats, and 5 percent of cows and 10 percent of pigs have been slaughtered.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers for the time being remains the governing body. It signs documents that are binding on everyone without ratification by the republics.

What is the Cabinet of Ministers? Either we fulfill instructions, or adopt decisions and implement them. Or else we turn into an organ of recommendation. (Speaks for a long time, repeats himself, reasons)

Meeting ends 2105.

P.S. M. Shchadov approached me: "Nikolay, melp he so that my miners do not take action in the mines." I told him that that is after all the result of declaring a state of emergency, and the Russian appeal is only a consequence.

Secretariat Cited on Coup Attempt Response

914B0339A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 33, Aug 91 p 6

[Report on news conference by members of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat with unidentified reporters on 21 August in Moscow: "Crocodile Tears From the Secretaries"]

[Text] During the first hours after the rebellion by the State Committee for the State of Emergency had been put down thanks to the steadfastness of the Russian leadership, representatives of nearly all the most important state and public organizations hurriedly issued statements expressing support for President Gorbachev and condemning the putschists. On 21 August journalists in Moscow had a hard time just getting from one press conference to the next.

Among the first was the press conference called by representatives of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, which had remained silent during the coup, attended by A. Dzasokhov, P. Luchinskiy, V. Kalashnikov, and D. Degtyarev.

[Reporter] How do you explain the CPSU Central Committee's tardy reaction to events?

[Dzasokhov] We in the Secretariat called for a Central Committee plenum, and the 400 people representing all parts of the country were to have met on 20 August. But events snowballed. What I have in mind is the declaration of a state of emergency in Moscow, which prevented us from doing this. Formulation of the position of the leading organs of the Central Committee took place in complex and sharp discussions. There were certain nuances.

[Reporter] Those who led the putsch were not low-ranking members of the CPSU, they were members of the Central Committee, and Yanayev had earlier been a member of the Politburo. Nevertheless, we have still heard no assessment from you of their activity. Your party found itself in a favorable position compared to other public organizations since it alone did not have its newspapers closed down. The CPSU Central Committee organ PRAVDA came out totally on the side of the putschists and carried only information from them. How do you assess all this?

[Dzasokhov] I am sure the upcoming plenum will begin by looking into the sphere of assessments of the activity of particular party members. As far as the newspapers are concerned, our UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, GLASNOST, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA were also closed down.

(It must be suggested that the junta had quite different motives. The dailies were of more immediate concern to it. And the publications named here are weeklies, and there is no doubt that they would have been among the first to be allowed by the junta to resume publication—ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editor's note).

[Reporter] E. Shevardnadze, Ye. Bonner, and many other well-known people were among the hundreds protecting B. Yeltsin. Tell us who from among the CPSU leaders visited the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. What contacts did you have with the leaders of the resistance?

[Dzasokhov] I know that the new leader of the Russian communists, Kuptsov, maintained an open telephone line to B. Yeltsin. I also talked with highly placed representatives of the presidential apparatus of the RSFSR President and Council of Ministers.

Chiefs of Central Committee departments visited the Russian parliament. (This information is unconfirmed—ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editor's note)

[Reporter] During the course of this press conference you have been calling what has happened during the past days "the events" and "the situation." Do you not personally think it is better to call things by their proper name, and that this was a putsch and that a junta attempted to become the head of state?

[Kalashnikov] In all conscience, honestly, as I look you in the eye, I would not want to call the comrades who caused this incident a junta that tried to restore the old order. I think they are people who made a big mistake in evaluating a complex situation, and for this they must bear full responsibility.

In the present situation it is possible to find forces in the country that are trying to take advantage of this situation and strike a blow against the communist party. Now I appeal not so much to you as to them. I appeal for a sense of responsibility from the side that should be perfectly well aware that the State Committee for the State of Emergency held enormous armed strength but did not use it.

A Document

The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editor has obtained by telephone from a reliable source the text of an encoded telegram sent from Moscow at 1050 on 19 August 1991.

To the communist party central committees and CPSU republic, kray, and oblast committees.

In connection with the introduction of the state of emergency, take steps for communists to participate in helping the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR.

Be guided by the Constitution of the USSR in practical activity.

Additional information will be forthcoming about the Central Committee plenum and other measures.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

Commentary Examines Yanayev's Background

914B0336B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Commentary by Pavel Gutionov: "President's Former Friend? Additional Touches to the Biography of the Vice President of the Country."]

[Text] It is 1800 on 19 August 1991; the GKChP [State Committee on the State of Emergency] presentation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center has just ended; it had been repeatedly interrupted by outbursts of contemptuous laughter: The people sitting behind the table on the platform were no longer invoking fear—they were loathsome and pathetic; it is not accidental that now the television just loves showing the panorama of these faces...

Exiting from the room, Otto Latsis told me: "I am afraid to admit it, but I seem to be feeling something akin to cautious optimism. SUCH people are doomed."

I checked it later: Quite a few people sensed the same. The junta was doomed as soon as it showed itself to the people. Two days later, having been granted the right to speak at a rally conducted by the Journalists' Union at Lubyanka, I will also tell about it from the pedestal of the "Iron Felix": "How could these people with shaking hands, trembling lips, and shifty eyes lay claim to power over the great country!..." And will immediately understand what had happened to all of us during the last few years: We have learned to be amazed by what, in truth, are amazing things. Because it had been precisely the people with trembling hands (one of my colleagues expressed it in a less diplomatic way: "with the habits of common alcoholics") that had been our norm...

All of this is about Yanayev. Now, after the putschists have been defeated, there is a temptation to add some colors of courage and decisiveness onto his portrait. But the text I am now offering for your attention was written before the coup—in July. I have reread it now and I see that generally it does not need any editing. I do hope that the reader will forgive me a certain restraint.

Well, the amazing 1990 presented us with another surprise—as they say—right before the curtain fell. There had been talk about Nazarbayev, about Bakatin, and about Shevardnadze. It does seem, however, that nobody expected Gorbachev to name Yanayev as his vice president. Even Yanayev himself confessed to my colleague from IZVESTIYA that he had received the offer to become the number two person in the country only two hours before the vote.

So who is Yanayev?

Fifty-three years old; two college degrees—graduated from the Gorkiy Institute of Agriculture and the All-Union Correspondence Juridical Institute. Candidate of historical sciences—a specialist on Trotskyism and anarchism. The service record, as he calls it, is sufficiently straight and consistent. Four years after college went to work in the sphere of agricultural technical supply; then secretary, and later first secretary, of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] obkom [oblast committee]; then 12 years as the head of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR; in 1980, he became deputy chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; then secretary and deputy chairman

of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VTsSPS) [AUCCTU], in which capacity he was elected people's deputy from the trade unions. The year 1990 saw Yanayev continually changing offices: First he was elected (with the amazing for our alternative times speed) chairman of the AUCCTU, then secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and finally—vice president.

"Unfortunately" (as he had put it for some reason)—married. Although, on the other hand, it was insistently emphasized during his nomination for the vice presidential post that "as a man" he hears no complaints and is not suffering from any complexes. His wife is an agronomist-accountant; his older daughter is a psychologist, the younger, a student. A grandson, named Nikolay, is nine years old.

According to computer data, he spoke 26 times at congresses and sessions of the Supreme Soviet, thereby becoming known to wide circles of the country populace. The nature of his speeches led KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA rather sarcastically to call the presentation report "President's Right Hand" (with the emphasis, I think, made on the first word). He was the leader of the communist parliamentary faction. And although he said once that he sees as most important "a man's ability, his qualifications, rather than the color of his party card or the name of the party to which he belongs," he nevertheless enjoyed the reputation of a zealous defender of the CPSU. In the parliament, at the slightest unfavorable mention of the names of the leadership of the party, of which he considered himself a soldier, Yanayev would take the podium and say: "Comrade Chairman, I would like you to interfere when we encounter an insult to the party and an insult to individual people, who should not even, so to speak, be discussed here." It is not accidental that his first statement made in his new capacity caused such reverberations: He said that "in the multiparty environment, where the CPSU now has political opponents who are ready to even physically harm the Communists, the thesis 'let us live in togetherness' is laughable."

During the debates on the vice presidential candidacy, Gorbachev was accused of being was outrageously inept in selecting the cadres. Nevertheless, one wanted to think that Mikhail Sergeyevich had reasons unknown to us, and that the choice was not made on the principle that "nobody else wanted the job," as one of my colleagues suggested in print.

It should be noted that the result of the vote for the new vice president clearly had not provided the second person in the state with the needed authority. On behalf of the Interregional Group, Arkadiy Murashov made an official statement that the vote results had been falsified. The chairman of the congress' vote-counting commission announced that only five out of all the ballots distributed had been missing from the ballot boxes; Murashov, however, produced seven ballots kept by deputies as mementos. For some reason, we do not have the habit of requiring explanations on occasions that in

any civilized state would have led to a series of resignations; here, as the chairman of the Constitutional Oversight Committee remarked, we could not even find a body empowered to investigate this situation...

One more circumstance. Before being elected, Yanayev proclaimed that he was ready—just as Davydov (in "Virgin Soil Uplifted") to plow all through the night but fulfill the "lesson." I think that even in this the vice president had selected a poor example to imitate. After all, plowing (and it seems that we are finally beginning to understand this) was not something this Petrograd worker, lovingly portrayed by Sholokhov, should have been doing...

In conclusion, a couple of absolutely unnecessary observations.

According to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, at the meeting with striking miners Yanayev permitted himself this kind of expression: "You may call me a goat if I do not bring up the issue of a change in tariffs before the end of February." The item was published in March (the tariffs stayed the same) under the caustic heading "What Should We Call You Now?" The vice president at that time got very upset; there was even an official statement that such words are not part of his lexicon, to which he stands ready to supply an eyewitness—Minister of Coal Industry Shchadov.

In general, one might confess that Gennadiy Ivanovich's manners are rather peculiar for a person who has been involved for such a long time in international contacts. During the work of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, newspaper KARETNYI RYAD ran on a front page an expressive photo depicting a discussion between the two highest officials in the country. The caption: "On the issue of parliamentary ethics: Should the vice president, when he is talking to the president, take his hands out of his pockets?"

Other evidence of Yanayev's activities in his first six months as vice president is not known to general public.

Colleagues on Former Chief of Staff Boldin

914B0336A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Commentary by Yuriy Orlik: "The Gray Cardinal: What We Know and What We Do Not Know About the Former Head of State's Chief of Staff"]

[Text] First, some biographic information. Boldin, Valeriy Ivanovich; born 1935. Started his career in PRAVDA, as a staff writer. In less than a year went to work for the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, from where he returned to PRAVDA several years later—this time as an editorial board member in charge of agrarian issues (he had graduated from the Timiryazev Academy). I called the colleagues at PRAVDA. I asked those who used to know Boldin to recall at least one thing. The reply: "Will have to look in the archives." They do not

remember. In 1981, assistant to a CPSU Central Committee secretary. Since 1985, assistant to M. Gorbachev. Then head of CPSU Central Committee General Department. Since 1990, chief of staff of the USSR president. USSR people's deputy.

The resume does not explain much. One thing is clear: He is a member of Gorbachev's inner circle. Owes him everything.

Betrayed him.

I try to find out more about him. Call one of the staffers who used to work with Boldin and who holds a fairly high position in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. I ask what kind of a man Boldin is. "He does not like people. Zero ability as an organizer. Suspicious to the extreme. Undiscriminating in selecting the staff." All of this in a patter. Asked not to mention his name.

On the phone: Vladimir Yegorov, assistant to the USSR president:

"Boldin was Mikhail Sergeyevich's assistant from the time he moved to Moscow. A typical apparatchik. Not a bad organizer, probably. All connections and contacts with the president went through him, were in his hands. He had the best access to Gorbachev's office.

"Reserved and unsociable. It was always a mystery for everybody what was on his mind. That he was schemer—this is beyond doubt, no other opinion on that. All of this had been said openly. He had kept all apparatus staffers at a distance; all assistants had been in disfavor with him. As far as I know, other than work contacts he did not socialize with anybody.

"As to his convictions—I am afraid he did not have any."

"Then why did Mikhail Sergeyevich misjudge him so, as well as other people he had placed in the most important positions in the government?"

"Mikhail Sergeyevich is a credulous and open person. You see, this is his nature. He is that way. He cannot play a mean trick on other people, and expects others to be the same way. He does not expect perfidy from those close to him."

I am told about a recent episode.

One of Boldin's staffers who returned from his vacation during the days of the putsch went to his boss' reception room right away to find out what exactly was going on, and what the president's chief of staff was doing to save his superior. Boldin interrupted him by remarking: "You got a nice tan; now go and work."

V. Falin, CPSU Central Committee secretary:

"My relationship with Boldin was not simple. My attempts to peruse the full volume of archive materials related to the signing of the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty of 1939 and the Katyn tragedy had been

rejected. Boldin, who was a de facto keeper of secret documentation, decided arbitrarily which documents may be opened to the eyes of others, and which may not."

In continuation of Falin's observations, it should be noted that Boldin also applied a selective approach to operational materials and hot information addressed to M. Gorbachev. It was Boldin who determined which documents would be placed on the president's desk.

It is possible that much of what had been happening in the country not only during the days of the putsch, but also long before it (we will, without question, learn about this) is explained by the fact that this gray cardinal stood next to the president.

'Treacherous' Behavior During Putsch Viewed

914B0335A Moscow TRUD in Russian
23 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by Valeriy Sidorov: "Viewpoint. Lessons of Treachery"]

[Text] "Poor Russia! They cannot even hang people properly," exclaimed Pestel, according to the legend, when three of the five rotten nooses broke during the execution of the Decembrists.

"The poor country! It cannot organize a revolt properly either"—one wanted to shout to those pathetic conspirators, former leaders of the country, that in the three short days of the putsch they demonstrated their complete ineptitude.

But let us not lapse into euphoria: The victory of democracy and the restoration of the legal authority were not only the result of the strong will of Muscovites, Leningraders, and Kemerovians—one cannot name them all—it was not only to the credit of B. Yeltsin, who acted firmly and brilliantly, and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; it was also the result of the ineptitude of the putschists. When you think about the events of these days and you see how rapidly the members of the notorious GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency] conducted themselves, you become really terrified for the country where the people in the key state posts are capable of nothing more than idle talk and empty verbiage. They have not even mastered the lessons of the history of the CPSU which nurtured them, which any schoolchild knows: "The postal, telegraph, and telephone facilities and the railroad stations go first, arrest the temporary government..." How could they! After all, they have done nothing all their lives but engage in rhetoric...

But now is the perfect time to analyze much more important lessons of the coup. There is no doubt that a comprehensive analysis will be done by the investigatory commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Procuracy after the report from the country's president is presented and explanations from the members of the

GKChP and individuals acting in concert with them are heard. But I cannot shake the feeling that many of those who sympathized with the putschists will be able to extricate themselves once again; they will sit in their armchairs, and, as before, they will cultivate their abiding hatred for democratic processes and throw a wrench in the works. For even in Vnukovo-2 during the night when M.S. Gorbachev was being met, all around him one could catch glimpses of the faces of people who just 12 hours before either were "ill," or refused to give their assessment of the putsch, or who even cooperated with the GKChP. Now they are surrounding the president, pouring their poison into his ears, and giving him their interpretation of events. And M.S. Gorbachev has always been known for his mild and forgiving nature, he has been easily deceived about people, he has carelessly let go of those who have worked with him out of conviction, and he has trustingly gathered around him those willing to be his lackeys.

But the democratic forces must not take the same liberties as M.S. Gorbachev did. We shall be vigilant, we shall be strict in our judgment of those who could take us back to the times of Stalin and Brezhnev. We shall again read through PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for these three days, we shall recall the television and radio transmissions, and we shall see that the putschists had a certain amount of support, that the removal of M.S. Gorbachev would be greeted joyfully not by individuals but by thousands, and that these people remain among us today.

I am not calling for witch hunts or for trials, and certainly not spontaneous ones. But we cannot continue to leave the power in the hands of those who hate perestroika in their souls.

During these terrible days, several large centers of resistance and opposition to the GKChP have been formed in a largely spontaneous and unofficial way. The leading one, of course, was the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The courageous behavior of B.N. Yeltsin and other republic leaders inspired and consolidated all democratic forces of the country. Everyone understood that as long as the "White House" stood, hope was alive. B. Yeltsin managed to achieve the almost impossible: to bring millions of people out of the shock of the reports of the morning of 19 August and to instill in them a belief in the need to fight and then—to win. Others also made no small contribution to the struggle: E. Shevardnadze, A. Yakovlev, and their comrades-in-arms in the Movement for Democratic Reforms, Yu. Luzhkov in the Moscow mayor's office and A. Sobchak in Leningrad, A. Volskiy and A. Vladislavlev in the Scientific-Industrial Union, Ye. Primakov and V. Bakatin in the Security Council, and N. Stolyarov in his one-man battle within the walls of Staraya Ploshchad.

But still this is not about them. Honesty, courage, and devotion, although they are regarded as high human virtues, still do not engage our imagination. But for centuries mankind has not ceased to be amazed at the

depths of treachery and double-dealing. In this respect, M.S. Gorbachev was especially "lucky"—he was betrayed repeatedly: in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in his own president's apparat, in the Cabinet of Ministers, and, finally, in the CPSU Central Committee.

I can imagine the kind of anathema to which the authors of these lines would be subjected by all these organs. Here they will remind us of their statements and demands for the release of M.S. Gorbachev. Yes, these demands were indeed made, but...but after noon on Wednesday, when the fate of the putsch had already been practically decided, when the aircraft carrying I. Silayev, A. Rutskoy, Ye. Primakov, and V. Bakatin had already left for the south to fetch the president. This is when the show of loyalty began, this is when the assurances of devotion were heard. Even those who a couple of hours previously were singing the praises of the GKChP hastened to "stake out their claims," to declare their devotion to the USSR Constitution and the USSR president. As recently as yesterday morning the editorial board of PRAVDA voted on supporting the GKChP. And they voted for it! All of them—except for a rare exception.

So let us call things by their real names: Treachery is treachery. Including in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and even more so in its presidium, and even more so on the part of A. Lukyanov. He, of course, will say that he had nothing to do with it, he did not know, he was not informed, and so forth. And indeed, being an experienced politician, A. Lukyanov managed to hide in the shadows. But it is no accident that the transmission on 19 August began with a declaration signed by him. It is no accident that the state of emergency was declared so zealously by the pampered members of the Soyuz group. It is no accident that it was Pavlov, Kryuchkov, Yazov, and Pugo who were so persistently given the floor over others when they were presenting their ideas at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

They say that the courtiers play no small role in the theater of the king. In order to understand A. Lukyanov correctly it is sufficient to take a look at those around him in the apparatus of the secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet. People with the most reactionary views, bankrupt party figures, "Andreyevites" and "Sergeyevites" have always been able to count on a cushy job and support from A. Lukyanov. And how calculatingly and selectively he has manipulated the people's deputies all these years: Who should be rewarded with an apartment in Moscow, who should be given a trip abroad, who should be given a job on one of the commissions... So many deputies have been ruined as a result of this and have become obedient tools in the hands of the chairman, and, conversely, so many indomitable ones have withdrawn from the Supreme Soviet. And how skillfully the meetings were conducted when it seemed that there was no way to oppose the president's ideas, that these ideas would leave them battered and bruised...

Being closely linked to the army, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB because of his previous job, and always having been distinguished by his keen thinking and behavior, A. Lukyanov, of course, could not welcome the elevation of such people as B. Yeltsin, G. Popov, and A. Sobchak, nor could he share the ideas of E. Shevardnadze and A. Yakovlev. And even if we were to believe him when he says he had nothing to do with the GKChP, he still betrayed the USSR president because he did not cast a vote against his ouster. The leader of the country's highest legislative organ concealed illegality with his silence.

V. Boldin, leader of the president's apparatus, remained in the shadows all these days but he played an active role. He was an assistant to M.S. Gorbachev for many years, even when the latter was secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was V. Boldin who became for M.S. Gorbachev the demon who nullified many of the actions of his leader by making them inconsistent.

And, finally, special mention should be given to the CPSU Central Committee. At many rallies nowadays one can hear curses against the communist party, which allegedly inspired the plot. I have to disappoint the critics of the CPSU: They are not in tune with reality but, to be sure, for a different reason. None of the members of the GKChP took the CPSU Central Committee seriously and they did not accept its secretariat as serious allies either. The secretariat, which drove A. Yakovlev and A. Rutskoy out of the party, which called for severe punishment for N. Stolyarov—such a secretariat, naturally, would not fight for its general secretary. It remained silent for two and a half days. Even on Tuesday when A. Volskiy called for several secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee (from among those with "democratic" orientation) to immediately convene an emergency plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to announce that M.S. Gorbachev was quite fit, and to demand a meeting with the GKChP—even then they declined, turning the initiative for this announcement over to Ye. Primakov and V. Bakatin. What can be expected of a party that betrays its leader?

M.S. Gorbachev is faced with difficult decisions. After the torturous 72 hours, when many times it probably seemed to him that he had lost everything to which he had devoted his life, now he must drink the bitter cup of insight and relive the drama of the perfidy and treachery of many of his associates. How loyal they were at moments of triumph, how reliable his comrades-in-arms seemed. And how irritated he sometimes became at people who sounded the alarm and warned him about the possibility of a duplicitous game. M.S. Gorbachev must become more far-sighted and perspicacious. He must call people to account and ask questions. Not for his own sake—for perestroika!

CPSU 'Collapse' Seen as Inevitable

PM2808124391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by P. Gutiontov: "The Party Is Over—A Statement Which Will No Longer Shake the World"]

[Text] On 19 August the newspaper PRAVDA sternly ticked off former Politburo Member A.N. Yakovlev for the inappropriate—in the semiofficial party organ's opinion—tone of his statement of resignation from the CPSU. PRAVDA was especially indignant about the statement's warning that the Stalinist nucleus which had formed in the CPSU leadership was ready for a "party and state coup." "This oversteps the bounds of not only moral, but also legal norms," A. Ilin, the paper's deputy chief editor—obviously a big expert on questions of both law and morality—wrote, offended on the leadership's behalf. It is interesting that by an irony of fate subscribers received this issue of PRAVDA after they had heard on the radio the State Committee for the State of Emergency's announcement of the indisposition of the country's legal president, who at that time was also general secretary of the Central Committee.

On the two following days the moralists and legal experts of the CPSU Central Committee made no efforts, so far as the country could see, to ascertain their leader's state of health. And they announced their attitude to the affair only when those selfsame "destructive elements" and "so-called democrats," that the communist Party has specialized in combating in recent years had saved the president and returned him to the capital.

Let us recall that, in his first press conference after his return, Mikhail Sergeyevich nevertheless spoke quite flatteringly of his comrades-in-arms in the party leadership. For some reason he especially singled out Central Committee Secretary A. Dzasokhov, whose law-abiding behavior, however, was refuted by the disclosures of TASS Deputy General Director G. Shishkin, who stated on the "Vremya" program 24 August that it was Dzasokhov who had implemented the strict censorship during the coup and had "pressured" TASS and Central Television (both of which, it is true, readily submitted to this pressure).

Then Kazakhstan President N. Nazarbayev stated he is leaving the Politburo and raising the question of the entire republican Communist Party leaving the CPSU—in view of the fact that instructions received by him during those days from the "Moscow" Central Committee Secretariat testified to the party leadership's complete support for the putschists. Kyrgyzstan President A. Akayev has suspended the activity of the republic's Communist Party and nationalized its property...

Subsequently events have been racing ahead at full speed, just like a troika whose reins have been loosed. Here are just a few of the reports relayed to the newsdesk by our correspondents directly before this issue was signed to press.

By decision of the Leningrad City Soviet Presidium, organs of the Internal Affairs Administration have sealed buildings belonging to CPSU organizations and party archives; in some cases traces of the destruction of documents have been discovered; Smolnyy, the "October Headquarters," is also sealed. It is reported that B. Gidasov "is seriously ill." On Friday, on the orders of Kursk Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], the buildings of the obkom [oblast party committee], all the gorkoms [city party committees] raykoms [rayon party committees], and party committees, and also the garage of the Russian Communist Party Obkom, were sealed. Speaking on Saturday at an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian parliament, L. Kravchuk announced that he is leaving the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. It has just become known that A. Malofeyev, the leader of Belorussian Communists, has made the same announcement, also announcing that the republic's Communist Party (which, incidentally, supported the putsch) is also leaving the CPSU. Tajikistan President K. Makhkamov has issued a decree on the departyization of the law-enforcement organs and the presidential apparatus (the decree, it is true, does not affect the republic Supreme Soviet's apparatus, which thereby remains subject to ideological influences). Let me add that, as reported earlier, the Latvian parliament has sanctioned the arrest of A. Rubiks (who announced on the first day of the putsch that he was "proud" of the actions of the conspirators). The Moscow City Soviet has deprived Yu. Prokofyev of his deputy's immunity. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has deprived Central Committee Secretary O. Shenin of the same. The statements made during the coup by A. Mutalibov and V. Polyanchko, leaders of the Azerbaijan Communist Party who actively supported the putschists, have become public knowledge...

In short, there are too many scandalous exposures and renunciations even for a party of many millions. Nothing could keep such an organization afloat any longer.

Today the buildings of the CPSU Central Committee on Staraya Square are also sealed. The occupants have abandoned their offices. Measures are being taken to prevent the destruction of documents which might clarify our ideas about the true role of the party leadership in the preparation of the putsch.

We hope that these documents will be saved—not only for the investigation, but also for history, whose full course should be declassified once and for all. There are grounds for supposing that unexpected lines and even whole pages will be inscribed in this course as a result of the opening up of the Central Committee's safes.

True, there has been a statement from a certain subway construction worker that a secret underground passage "to freedom" from the CPSU Central Committee's premises was built several years ago. The worker warned that compromising information can leak away via this passage, and perhaps this has occurred already.

Of course, it is a pity if this has happened. Nevertheless, I venture to claim: Even what we have managed to discover as of today is entirely sufficient to ensure that nothing on earth can save the Communist Party from the complete political and moral collapse which is already under way. Its claims to the leading and guiding role in society have proved worthless, and this has finally become clear once and for all even to those who insisted to the very last moment on their faith in the CPSU's future and its capacity for self-renewal.

Following Yeltsin's edicts suspending the activity of the Russian Communist Party, Gorbachev—whom we had seen trying to convince the Russian president of his precipitate haste—issued decrees of his own: "On Ending the Activity of Political Parties and Political Movements in the USSR Armed Forces, Law-Enforcement Organs, and State Apparatus" and "On the Property of the CPSU." In the latter soviet of people's deputies are told to "take the CPSU's property into their safekeeping. Questions of the further use of this property should be decided in strict accordance with the laws of the CPSU and the republics." And directly after this he made a statement of a personal character. Let us recall its prehistory: IZVESTIYA had already reported in No. 201 that a group of CPSU Central Committee members had delivered a letter to the general secretary's apparatus suggesting that a Central Committee Plenum be convened immediately so the full committee could lay down its powers. Gorbachev's statement can be deemed a response to this letter.

Now is probably not the time for detailed commentaries or analysis of this document, nor of the avalanche of events that has descended upon us. But one or two things need to be said now, I think. Gorbachev is once again late, once again finds himself trailing after events about which he was persistently but unsuccessfully warned not once, not twice—not 34 times. V. Bakatin told me in May that he had advised the president on more than one occasion to quit the post of general secretary—but Gorbachev, to all appearances, paid too much attention to other advice. I asked E. Shevardnadze directly, three weeks before the putsch: Isn't the Movement for Democratic Reforms being set up "for Gorbachev"? Eduard Amvrosiyevich replied that, in his opinion, turning toward the democrats would be the best solution for the president, but, unfortunately, he was convinced that Gorbachev would not take this step—at any rate, until he was forced to do so by extreme circumstances. Well, once again we can see that Shevardnadze has the gift of foresight...

And there is one more important circumstance, it seems to me. Over a long period of time the party press, devoid of even a minimum sense of self-preservation, had been assiduously whipping up anticommunist hysteria, loudly wailing that persecutions of ordinary Communists were being prepared and that calls for physical reprisals against them were widening. I am very much afraid that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, and other papers of that ilk were very successful in their efforts,

drumming into people's consciousness the slogans which they were apparently protesting. God forbid that something of this kind should happen, that some people should manage to turn the trial of the CPSU—which is essential, and, as is now absolutely obvious, inevitable—into a show trial of Communists, persecuting them for membership of the party. All honorable and reasonable people are now warning against this: I will cite Yelena Georgiyevna Bonner, whom no one, I think, will suspect of being in the hire of the former authorities. Speaking on Moscow television Friday evening, she stressed that millions of workers, peasants, doctors, and teachers have nothing in common with the party elite who betrayed the people, and cannot be liable for its crimes.

Thus we will be vigilant toward attempts by those who would very much like to divide this responsibility into millions of portions in order to lessen a million times the weight of their personal responsibility before the country.

Leaders Urged To Take 'Unpopular Measures'

PM2808161391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by M. Berger: "Union Economy: Non-Emergency Committee in Emergency Circumstances"]

[Text] The USSR presidential decree noting this situation and outlining the very first step to overcome it was formulated with the utmost brevity, in two points.

"1. In connection with the fact that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers failed to fulfill its constitutional duty and to take the necessary measures to thwart the state conspiracy, while individual members of the Cabinet took a direct part in it, in accordance with Article 14 of the USSR Law 'On the USSR Cabinet of Ministers' I put to the USSR Supreme Soviet the question of confidence in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

"2. To organize jointly with the republics the day-to-day management of the country's national economy, a committee is to be set up headed by I.S. Silayev (leader) and A.I. Volskiy, Yu.M. Luzhkov, and G.A. Yavlinskiy (deputies). They are to be entrusted with determining the committee's membership and appointing within a two-day period those responsible for leading specific work sectors."

The state of emergency, about which the State Committee for the State of Emergency said so much, has happened. It has been introduced by the postcoup circumstances and the removal of the Union Cabinet, which for a long time, doggedly and successfully, led the economy toward collapse, created the necessary preconditions for a conspiracy to come into being, and participated in the implementation of the coup through its individual members.

At present it is only possible to guess what this "instant government" will be like, who will be in it, and what its

first actions will be. On Sunday morning, when this commentary was being prepared, the full committee had not yet met, for perfectly valid reasons. V. Sergeyev, the Russian premier's press secretary, has told us that I. Silayev is simply resting after five sleepless nights. This period has been just as hard for the other committee members, although we have not been able to learn precisely which of them is doing what. I believe that those among them who are keeping awake during these hours have, together or individually, found a space immune from telephone calls and are working out the priority actions with their aides.

How is the country's "deministryized" national economic complex functioning now and how will it work in the future, particularly as the activities of two key USSR ministries—of economics and forecasting and material resources—have simply been banned on the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] by a resolution of the Russian Council of Ministers? The answer to this question is partly provided by the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution on the Union Cabinet.

It proposes, first, that the USSR president disband the Union Cabinet of Ministers. Both the aforementioned presidential decree and the cited resolution are dated the same day—24 August—and so it is hard for us to judge which document was signed first and whether one of them is a consequence of the other. Second, prior to the formation of the new Cabinet of Ministers the Russian Council of Ministers has assumed the leadership of Union ministries and departments. A special institution of plenipotentiary members of the RSFSR Government will be formed for this. The Russian Council of Ministers is also taking on the fulfillment of the functions of USSR ministries and departments with regard to the other union republics. The latter fact attests that the Russian Government is acting not only quickly and decisively but also responsibly.

While the editorial teletype machines were transmitting official materials and the plenipotentiaries had not yet reached the places where they are to carry out their duties, we tried to contact certain base ministries of the disbanded Union Government. We managed to talk with USSR Deputy Railways Minister V. Shevandin, who this Sunday was responsible for the work of the Railways Ministry.

Vasily Alekseyevich gave an assurance that passengers and other railroad clients have no cause for concern. There are no serious deviations from the passenger and freight timetable on the scale of the country, and none are foreseen at present.

Vasily Alekseyevich is not enthusiastic about the possible upcoming division of the railroads in connection with the fact that some of them are turning out to be on the territory of independent states. He pointed to the tremendous technical and economic complexities of dividing them up. There is a common pool of freightcars

for the entire Union, as well as the system for tracking their progress. Even if the Estonian part of the cars is set aside, let us say, who will conduct their passage in the eastern part of the country, and how? In addition, the peripheral railroads bear a significantly smaller load than the central main ones, but the costs of their upkeep are roughly identical. At present the Ministry of Railways evens out this imbalance by means of its subsidies. If these do not exist, it will be necessary to sharply increase the tariff on the sections of railroad which have become detached. And how then are different tariffs for the very same services to be allowed for in different parts of the former Soviet Union? In short, V. Shevandin personally advocates keeping the railroads under common jurisdiction.

However convincing the deputy minister's arguments may be, they will hardly halt the formation of autonomous, independent states with all the ensuing economic consequences.

While I was calling ministries which have lost their ministers, my colleague V. Romanyuk visited the former State Planning Committee, which was recently transformed into the USSR Ministry of Economics, whose activity has now been banned on RSFSR territory. What does V. Shcherbakov, boss of the "arrested" department, think?

"It is virtually a question of eliminating the structure of presidential power. I do not intend to fulfill this resolution, and today, Sunday 25 August, we will issue an order suspending it. It is not a question of whether I like sitting in this office—I have already tendered my resignation—but the fact that an unlawful decision was adopted. Well, will 14 republics now have to ask the 15th for something? Or will Russia tackle the management of the entire national economy?"

"But are you really in a position to resist in the present situation?"

"All that is happening today reminds me of the extremist actions in the 1920s and 1930s, when a sailor would go into the State Bank and see that money was not taken out of it, although there was no money in the bank at all. An assessment of what is happening must not be turned into a trial..."

But let us return to those who have not been put out of the game and who are assuming the whole burden of responsibility for the development of the situation in the country's economy.

The committee of Silayev, who is now responsible for two governments simultaneously, will probably start by making up the full team, for less than two days are now left for this. What will this team be like? Will it be made up of persons who have already proved themselves somehow in a particular sphere, or will they be people quite unknown to anyone? The latter is more likely, for the ideological restrictions (party membership) and others (work experience in the CPSU Central Committee

apparatus and in other responsible apparatuses of the totalitarian system of management) that existed until last week with regard to the selection of top leading cadres have ceased to exist.

True, there is in this case the danger of a certain charlatanism of management if the revolutionary wave carries up to the crest people who have somehow proved themselves in recent days but who are not ready for large-scale actions. But this is a surmountable misfortune and is incomparably less than the danger posed by rated professionals preparing a coup d'état.

The committee members will certainly rely on those with whom they have worked in recent years. Yavlinskiy, as we see, is once again Silayev's deputy, and this combination worked well, finding mutual understanding, until the Union parliament killed the "500 Days" program. Yavlinskiy himself has his colleagues in the preparation of economic programs, in his EPIsentr [Economic and Political Research Center].

Volskiy, who actively relies on entrepreneurs, including in his reaction to the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, will certainly bring in his own vice president in the Scientific-Industrial Union—Doctor of Sciences A. Vladislavlev, an oilman who, incidentally, speaks English well. (As is well known, the junta recruited A. Tizyakov, the other vice president of the Scientific-Industrial Union, who blocked many progressive initiatives there.) Naturally Luzhkov will recommend someone from the government of Moscow and will maybe tackle interrepublic relations.

The assumptions concerning the distribution of functions are pure improvisation, but it is based on the following. Volskiy, taking his experience into account, will certainly tackle questions of the day-to-day management of the national economy. Incidentally, N. Ryzhkov, the recent premier, saw Volskiy as a very dangerous rival. The name of Volskiy came up last year when the question of forming the Interrepublic Economic Committee was being discussed in a narrow circle of high leaders. Ryzhkov reacted very harshly to this: "If you want the government to be managed by this committee, then appoint Volskiy to it." Yavlinskiy will most likely tackle economic strategy. So we are left with relations with the republics and the new independent states and Yu. Luzhkov—hence the supposition concerning his duties.

It is also possible to make some assumptions concerning economic strategy. It must be supposed that the basic ideas of the "500 Days" program, which will of course be resuscitated, may prove insufficiently radical today. Last year's most extreme proposals were, all the same, mixed with a compromise with the socialist choice and the vagueness of the population's real attitude to the existing ways. Even the still-"warm" Soviet-U.S. "Window of Opportunity" cooperation program, while the main ideas and points are undoubtedly correct, is also obsolete since it proceeded from the need to reconcile modern

capitalism with the "historic choice" which the Soviet people had supposedly made once and for all.

The political conditions now exist for implementing genuine market reforms, and we can hurry along the same path as our brothers in the former socialist camp. Of the possible measures with regard to the near future it is possible to presume a monetary reform. There is a political argument for this too—the "de-Leninization" of bank notes. People will probably be prepared to be more tolerant of this painful procedure in order to remove Lenin from the money—which is what a poet asked for many years ago (admittedly for quite different reasons).

Unpopular measures without which the economy cannot be developed even with the West's most active assistance can perfectly well be implemented, as this will be done by popular authorities.

End of Socialist 'Theatre of the Absurd' Welcomed

PM2808154791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by Albert Plutnik under the "Political Diary" rubric: "End of Theater of the Absurd?"]

[Text] I am worried that under the influence of the angry and vigorous calls to finally "deal with" the state coup's participants and intermediaries and to reach every person, so to speak, we may again be fired by bloodlust, settling personal accounts and infringing the law with another access of revolutionary expediency.

I am worried that in "dealing with" specific bearers of evil we may decide (which has already frequently happened with us) that the whole business is exclusively to do with people and not with circumstances, not with the structure of power, the system of management which rules people and obliges them to act in a particular way and no other, breaking human destinies, crippling morals, and disfiguring characters. As though it were a case only of the performers and not of the theater of the absurd which our life has been for such a long time. Has been and still is.

According to numerous testimonies, on those three days of August next to the tanks and armored personnel carriers there constantly arose excited dialogues between servicemen and Muscovites. The civilians, without restraining their emotions, openly assessed the actions of the soldiers and officers who disembarked on Moscow's streets: Who are you attacking? Shame! Whose side are you on? The military men, if they joined the exchange, answered in the same spirit: Did we decide to come here ourselves? Our service brought us..."

I believe that no one will object that a soldier in principle should not discuss an order from his commander. Still less should he go into the legal niceties of top-level politics. There is the Statute. There is military discipline. There is the command of the motherland, expressed in

the order. And he must fulfill it unconditionally, without the right to interpret creatively the demands of the military Statute. Because the commander's order is a law for his subordinates. A law.

So why then are we speaking today with approval or even pride of the servicemen who on the square of Free Russia acted not in accordance with but counter to the order they received? Why are we saying that the soldier's awareness was manifested not in fulfilling his order but in violating it? If the servicemen had been operating under normal conditions, then they would have been brought before the tribunal for that. But that is under normal conditions. But can it be deemed normal if an army is sent in against its own people? If the army which is part of the people, which is itself the people, is compelled to become a force which confiscates from the people its greatest treasure—democracy? Under such conditions the abnormal became normal and what in principle deserves to be denounced became praiseworthy. I repeat, for one reason alone: The troops were operating under conditions which can in no way be called normal. And under abnormal conditions demanding normal actions from people is of itself abnormal. In absurd circumstances it is rational actions which are illogical, stupid, and absurd. Everything is turned upside down.

Yet after all, if you think about it, the situation in which the troops brought into Moscow 19 August found themselves is not so exceptional for all of us who make up the "new historical community"—the Soviet people. I would even venture to call it typical of the life the beginning of the end of which was proclaimed by April 1985. And whose dismantling, to judge by the first steps, promises to proceed at a rapid pace after the defeat of the junta. I should like to believe that now finally it is not only the decor, repertoire, and leading actors which will change in the theater of the absurd where we have all been both spectators and dramatis personae but that life itself, its foundations, will be radically transformed, that there will no longer be any need to regard the unnatural as natural and the abnormal as normal.

To explain what I am talking about, an example from yesterday. Afghanistan. Were there or were there not genuine Heroes of the Soviet Union there? Did our side display unrivaled bravery and admirable courage? There was everything there—self-sacrifice by our soldiers and the irreproachable fulfillment of combat missions. There were valiant sons of the Motherland whose breasts shielded their commanders, who saved their comrades in arms at the cost of their own lives. It was there, it was all there, but... it is as though it was not there. It was all absolutely real, but somehow devalued by something. Because there was the same unnaturalness in the circumstances in which our compatriots found themselves through no will of their own. This unnaturalness cast a shadow on heroism as such, cast doubt on the sincerity of the most undisputed virtues—valor, fearlessness, duty. Because, in doing everything to conceal this, we took part in an unjust war, a predatory war if you like. The

heroism was unfeigned, real people lost their lives. It was not plaster casts, not mannequins, that died... And the "Afghans" are not to blame for the fact that, in fulfilling their military duty in exemplary fashion, the soldiers and officers in some sense became guilty before their country, before peace-loving mankind, not to mention the country where they had been sent under cover of international duty.

In a normal state people should not find themselves in such abnormal conditions, seemingly specially created to test their hearts and nerves and ours to breaking point.

The theater of the absurd...

An organic part of the show constantly played out on its stage was the idea instilled in us that the Communist Party had some kind of messianic role in our lives, the idea of its alleged supreme wisdom, the need to preserve in our hearts as the most supremely sacred object a filial loyalty to our dear party and at the same time to our dear Soviet government, a one-party government, of course. But perhaps it is indeed the wisest and greatest party? And an unattainable goal had to be thought up—communism. For a little more than 70 years they had to pretend that the party alone knew how to get there, that for all these years under its leadership, disregarding all difficulties and deprivations, the people had been following "the correct path..." What is all that if not the theater of the absurd?

Today the CPSU has again attracted the attention of the entire people, but by no means because of the convening of another historic forum of Communists—a congress or plenum. But in connection with the latest page in our history, so to speak, which has not yet been included in a single one of the countless textbooks on the party's history. Now the party itself has found itself in what only yesterday was an absolutely inconceivable, impossible, utterly absurd situation. Its headquarters on the Staraya and Novaya squares in Moscow have been sealed up, the Smolnyy has been sealed up. Even those who had seemingly sworn loyalty to it all their lives and made a profession of it are repudiating the party. But that is not the main thing. The main thing is that at this stage of social life the party was involved in a state coup.

It was probably the most powerful, the most ambitious party in the world. It could forget anything you like, but never itself. It loved itself and demanded that the people love it. "Glory to the CPSU!" it proclaimed. It was power itself, it had everything, but even that was not enough. Suffering from megalomania, it fell into self-glorification, publishing this glorification of itself in many millions of copies—in its press, in its literature, in its visual agitation. It was the party itself which declared itself to be the wisest—the mind, conscience, and honor of the era...

I admit I was always surprised when people, either in earnest or constantly mindful that they were actors in the theater of the absurd, discussed the latest program or

simply the party's plans and suggested altering the formulation or adding a different clause. Or maybe they really did not understand that what was written there essentially had no meaning. You could write and promise whatever you wanted—after all no one would in any case make you answerable for the result. So they had not caught up with or overtaken America, as planned, so what? They did not build communism by 1980, did not fulfill the food program, so what? We thought up new tasks, feasible or not—what was the difference? Guided by the wisest teaching, bringing the country to such a state—what is that, tell me, if not the theater of the absurd? Achieving a situation in which an ideologist bears no responsibility for the ideas which he instills in the masses... Where else is that possible if not in the theater of the absurd? In what normal society, under what rational system of existence? Leading the country into an impasse and then daring to claim that only you and your party have every right to be if not the ruling party then at any rate the vanguard party. Or is it because those who brought us here know the way back?

No, somehow one does not want to wax ironic over the denouement of the historical drama taking place before our eyes today. Over the criminal finale to the history of the party, whose greatest unpleasantnesses began as soon as its action, which for so long had not been open to debate, were measured against the law...

And under the new conditions it was unnatural for it to be forced to struggle for power in the state. To struggle for what it had become used to possessing without a struggle. For what it had seemingly inherited once and for all. Accustomed to existing under abnormal conditions, making out that the absurd was normal, under unnatural conditions where everything it had was its own home-grown version—its own morality, its own "Soviet way of life," its own socialist humanity, its own geniuses, its own prophets, its own truth—it had long dissociated itself from normal general human values. And when conditions of social life gradually began to come close to being normal—then all the unnaturalness of its customary norms was revealed. Norms imposed on society and on the country.

Should we be surprised that the largely unnatural conditions of our existence, our consciousness constantly suppressed by dogmas and stereotypes, the life in which the freedom of the artist was measured by the principles of socialist realism, the freedom of the arable farmer was measured by the prescription of the party organs, and the freedom of the judge, obliged to be subordinate only to the law, was measured by a law based on telephone calls, led to serious deviations in the awareness and mentality of "simple Soviet people." There is plenty of evidence of that. I shall dwell on just one piece of this evidence.

Television pictures of the flight of Albanians from their native Albania shake us. The ship in the Italian port swarming with refugees and ready to leave what is for them an alien shore and set sail for their motherland. Thin, emaciated, people dressed in whatever clothes god

sends, in the face of this threat, in terror and frenzy, are throwing themselves from the high side of the ship into the alien waters, are following their noses. Seemingly into neutral waters. As long as they are not expelled, not returned to where they were born, to the place where their father's house is, where their mother and father are, where their native landscapes, their native homes are... How much one has to endure, survive, and go through in one's own home to acquire such despair and fearlessness as to prefer death to returning home.

And if only Albania were the only country to generate in its sons and daughters such an unhesitating desire to leave it come what may. You recall how the united Germany began. No, whatever you say, it did not begin with the diplomats' efforts, with the peacemaking ideas of eminent politicians. All that came later. After the event, so to speak. But this was preceded by a punishable initiative, so to speak, from below. Ordinary Germans, citizens of the former GDR, which we usually called the free Germany, whose achievements and in particular whose living standard were presented as indisputable proof of the outstanding potential of the "socialist choice," climbed up the wall in the most literal sense possible. Away, it is to be supposed, from the life which had been created for them in their native land. They rushed to storm the Berlin wall. And no superstrong reinforcements, no super-clever border fences could hold back this impulse of the people.

Let us turn mentally to another part of the world—to Cuba and the waters adjacent to it. Let us recall again documentary scenes on the same subject. What means of staying afloat are not used by skillful Cubans in order, under cover of night, to leave their remarkable land, the first free territory of America, as they used to say in our country, a land, according to our definition, of a heroic revolution and its legendary leader.

How is it? Where are they all going, these Albanians, Germans, and Cubans? Why are they fleeing in all directions? Are they running away from their own happiness? To a world of philistine prosperity? Away from true freedom? From the real benefits given them by the various models of real socialism? After all, each of the countries which experienced the "socialist choice" was proceeding toward socialism by its own unrepeatable path. They were proceeding by different paths but reached the same point?

And what is the growing emigration from the USSR? It is not simply individual citizens and families but whole clans and peoples that are leaving. It has become a cliché to speak of the Jews, but after all Germans and Greeks and now Soviet Turks do not see their future within the vast USSR. Who is to blame for the fact that their native land is becoming hateful to people, that they eagerly prefer foreign lands to it? Yet after all this too is unnatural—to rush from the place to which under normal conditions a person should be rushing, overcoming all obstacles. Not from but to...

What is happening in our country today seems to some people to be the end of the world (read Marshal Akhromeyev's suicide note) and to others to be the end of darkness. For many people the defeat of the junta with its premises borrowed from the past has given rise to a new eruption in society, a new spiral of hopes, if you like, which of itself is not bad. Given that even before we spent a great deal of time meticulously devoting ourselves to this undertaking—hoping, waiting, believing. We lived, it may be said, not so much from victory to victory as from hope to hope, believing on each occasion that now finally we could replace our unjustified hopes with real hopes.

What will it be like now? It is probably easier to believe in the past than in the future. Especially if it is shrouded in the romantic mist of our own youth. The future is always like a mysterious island. What will it be like in the light of today's changes, far more radical than all the previous ones? An island of treasures or only a mirage which has yet again arisen before the eyes of the tired sailors?

Let us try to be free people, using for the purpose the happy chance offered us by history. And then we shall see.

Vnukovo Pilots Association Calls Off Strike

LD2808222891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1627 GMT 28 Aug 91

[by TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 August. (TASS)—The independent trade union of pilots at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport has just called off the strike planned for this Thursday, without waiting for the management to meet a number of their social and economic demands. "We considered that we are not entitled to exacerbate right now the already complex political and economic situation in the country caused by the coup organizers' plot," Yuriy Bulanov, the leader of the airmen's trade union, told your TASS correspondent.

He denied rumors which have leaked into the press and onto television alleging that the Vnukovo trade union had supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency during the days of the coup. "You should not identify us with the management of the Vnukovo air association, who actually did swear loyalty to the adventurists," Yuriy Bulanov stated. "Our activists, though, stood up immediately and resolutely in defense of the legitimate Russian authorities and even defended them on the approaches to the White House."

The trade union leader confirmed his belief that the way out of the economic difficulties of the collective at Vnukovo Airport, one of the largest in the country, lies in transferring it to the direct jurisdiction of Russia and turning this state enterprise into a joint-stock company.

Media & Journalism

Yegor Yakovlev on Journalists' Responsibilities

LD2808133391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Interview with Yegor Vladimirovich Yakovlev, chairman of the All-Union State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, by correspondents Yevgeniy Shirokov and Yuriy Korotkov, on 28 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] As is known, Yegor Vladimirovich Yakovlev has, by decree of the USSR President, been appointed chairman of the All-Union State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. He is an eminent public figure, a USSR people's deputy, and a well-known journalist. Throughout the past five years he has held the post of editor in chief of the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI weekly. Today he was introduced to the Gosteleradio board. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev introduced the new chairman on the instructions of the country's president. Immediately afterwards, our correspondents Yevgeniy Shirokov and Yuriy Korotkov interviewed Yegor Vladimirovich Yakovlev.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Yegor Vladimirovich, did you ever, even in your most fantastic dreams, envisage that you might become chairman of Gosteleradio.

[Yakovlev] I dreamed it. I am a healthy man and I rarely have nightmares.

[Correspondent] It is understandable that now, when you have just joined our collective, it is difficult to speak about any kind of programs, but nevertheless we have all come to today's television and radio, muddled, trying to understand.

[Yakovlev] I have come, first of all, to ensure that things are done differently today, to return those good things which used to be there and which have been (?lost) during recent times. These are "Sem dney," Molchanov's program, some radio programs. I think the first thing that needs to be done is to return what people liked and what was destroyed here.

[Correspondent] Yegor Vladimirovich, we know you very well as a journalist and we know that you have made at least 20 documentary films for television. And we have seen you as a journalist abroad. We are all experiencing very acute worries about the journalist's position, his independence and his right to independence. What do you think? What will happen in this sphere here?

[Yakovlev] Well, naturally, I would like journalists to have the maximum of rights. But I am most concerned about problems of the moral responsibility of journalists. We spoke about this today because there are people who today seem to consider themselves [word indistinct]

because they were better and they spoke that filth during the putsch, which was spoken accusing honest journalists, their own colleagues, as they dare name non-putschists, putschists, and so on. And when I was here with Nikolay Poltoranin we came up with such a formula. There are no pointsmen in journalism. We will work more on issues of moral responsibility than on the issue of independence, although the issue of journalistic independence is of course held dear.

[Correspondent] And here is a question: What demands do you perhaps have of radio and television journalists?

[Yakovlev] I do not have any demands yet, just a request that they help me. I understand that we are, generally speaking, at a completely new stage in television. Central Television is, practically speaking, just Moscow Television, and is a huge organism, as it were, without roots. We must represent the interests of all listeners. There is no longer a master of the frequencies today. There is no master of broadcasting time. There is just interest in programs. This is my only request. That's all.

[Correspondent] Mayak thanks you and wishes you all the best. [end recording]

MOSCOW NEWS Putsch Activities Reviewed

LD2908133291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The chairman of the state-run television and radio company, Leonid Kravchenko, has been dismissed by decree issued by President Gorbachev. The editor-in-chief of the MOSCOW NEWS, Yegor Yakovlev, has been appointed to replace Kravchenko.

Leonid Kravchenko came under fire for obeying the putshists' instructions for enabling the plotters to take over television and radio and thereby contributing to the initial success of the putsch. More from Fedor Nosev:

[Begin Nosev recording] During the takeover, the MOSCOW NEWS and other reformist newspapers were banned. Journalists at the weekly tried to distribute leaflets clandestinely at the risk of their lives. They chronicled resistance to the takeover and reported about the steps taken by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, who took over the resistance. These clandestine bulletins were circulated in Moscow and even in other cities.

After the coup failed, the newly appointed Soviet television chief, Yegor Yakovlev, spoke about plans concerning the future of the television and radio company. The former editor-in-chief of the MOSCOW NEWS revealed these plans on his way to the special session of the Soviet parliament in the Kremlin.

[Yakovlev is heard briefly in Russian, fading into English translation] There are many decent and talented people working on television and my intention is to return to television all the good things that have been destroyed lately by those who've contributed to the bloody putsch this way or another.

On television there are people who've lost the moral right to be on television because of the immorality they displayed during the putsch as well as during the bloody events in Lithuania's capital Vilnius last January. Some television commentators will have to go, the rest should be given a chance to reveal their talent.

Yakovlev explained that the concept of television would be changed too. From now on it will be more informative.

[Yakovlev is heard briefly in Russian, fading into English translation] I turned down the concept of the previous chief, Leonid Kravchenko, who said the people had got tired of politics and for this reason fed television viewers with old, long films. The coup showed that politics meant a lot for all, especially young people. The most remarkable discovery was that it was young people that were the first to rise in the Russian parliament's defense.

Television will now appeal to the younger generation. Young people should be given as many opportunities as possible in all fields, television included. It's also obvious that there must be more unbiased reporting and more attention to facts on television and radio.

Yegor Yakovlev said that at this stage he does not know how the gigantic monopoly of Gosteleradio will be reorganized. Apparently it will take some time to understand the situation. However, many observers believe that this organization will be an association of relatively independent companies.

And that was an interview with the new Soviet television and radio chief, Yegor Yakovlev. [end recording]

New 'Free' IZVESTIYA Sales Increase

PM2908115691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by V. Nadein: "IZVESTIYA Banned Through Inertia"]

[Text] These days readers in the Baltic states are getting IZVESTIYA irregularly since the governments of these states have ordered IZVESTIYA not to be printed. The newspaper's overall circulation throughout the three republics is roughly 150,000 copies.

A recent issue containing information that we received about individual statements against President Gamsakhurdia's government was not printed in Georgia either.

Representatives of the IZVESTIYA Publishing House report that the Moldovan Government, which has over the last few weeks prohibited its printing enterprises and delivery services circulating IZVESTIYA to subscribers and retail outlets, totally lifted these bans as of issue No. 203.

IZVESTIYA, the heir and successor of IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR,

deliberately and with conviction retained the key word in its title. IZVESTIYA is still IZVESTIYA. It is still a newspaper sensitive to people, true to the ideas of liberal democratism, alien to political extremism, and hostile to national egoism and violence.

Being free, henceforth, of ideological diktat by any state or party organization and responsible only to the law, we depend far more than before on economic factors. In short, on our readers.

"We still don't have enough information to enable us to draw serious conclusions," Yu. Yefremov, director of the IZVESTIYA Publishing House, said, "however retail sales of the new IZVESTIYA have risen over the last four days from 650,000 to 850,000. Newspaper sales in Moscow have doubled."

Fuzzy contract relations between the IZVESTIYA Publishing House and printing enterprises that now belong to the governments of the Baltic states make no provision for punitive sanctions on either side.

Latvia with its high proportion of Russian-speaking citizens has resumed printing of IZVESTIYA. Provision has been made for the newspaper to be delivered to Estonian readers and residents of Vilnius from Leningrad.

For a number of economic reasons subscription is unprofitable for IZVESTIYA. The price of 29 rubles and four kopecks (that was the strange cost of annual subscription under the previous regime) does not cover printing and circulation costs today, not to mention the future inevitable changes, leaving all the costly work of composing the newspaper to the kindness of state structures or the publishing house's other reserves. Retail sales alone make income and expenditure "equal."

Sooner or later the price of paper will be the same for all publications irrespective of their political orientation. Some spare capacity is appearing on the domestic market due to the nonpublication of PRAVDA and other similar publications. It is not even a matter of an all-out ban on their publication. PRAVDA lived off the party coffers, its competitive potential has been greatly undermined, even if the journalist collective—which is by and large highly reactionary—finds the internal strength to resume publication of the newspaper.

Free competition complicates life for the producer but improves life for the consumer. Editorial and printing collectives (if we are talking about a concern like IZVESTIYA) are forced to compete every day with other publications by one means alone: producing the best newspaper at the lowest possible price.

Under these conditions government bans on the circulation of our newspaper need to be revamped. We will not betray the ideals of democracy and freedom to please any government or to please the economy either. We will provide the reader with all the news, without dividing it

into "correct" news—which our reader likes to perceive—and "incorrect" news—which diverges from the prevailing opinion. It is our conviction that news is something that people are entitled to know.

Since, given our antediluvian printing equipment and backward communications systems, the desire to supply the reader with information as fast as possible is fraught with the risk of inaccuracies and mistakes, we will immediately set them to rights.

Our correspondents are free to honestly expound the positions espoused by the leaders of all the former Soviet republics, all regions, parties, and social currents. If the editorial office does not deem it advisable to reflect in full an opinion or report that people, parties, or governments consider mandatory, they are entitled to buy newspaper space and publish any text as an advertisement provided that it does not contravene the law.

Whether they allow IZVESTIYA to be circulated or not is an internal matter for independent states, a matter for mutual relations between the governments and the citizens. If citizens approve measures to safeguard them against information—which I find difficult to believe—well, it is not up to the newspaper to persuade them.

We must get accustomed to the idea that a newspaper is not a collective organizer or a collective agitator, much less a collective propagandist, but a commercial venture providing the population—or, more accurately, various social and class strata—with a service.

In view of the fact that a number of newspapers were not published in Moscow on Monday morning, IZVESTIYA produced a special issue, analyzing the latest news. The reader in the provinces had a chance to study this news in the preceding issue. Some 10,000 copies were distributed to Muscovites free of charge direct from the editorial office; they went in 20 minutes.

Needless to say, editorial plans made no provision for the coup d'état and documents relating to subscription distributed to the localities by Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter] do not contain any information about the drastically renewed newspaper with the same name of IZVESTIYA. That is why the newspaper itself, emerging before your eyes, is the best answer for those who are in doubt, wavering, or even issuing bans.

Ignatenko Appointed TASS General Director

OW2808183791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday named Vitaliy Ignatenko, formerly in charge of the USSR President's Press Bureau, as the new General Director of the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS).

In an interview with an "INTERFAX" correspondent Vitaliy Ignatenko said that he intended to introduce a number of reorganisational measures at TASS which would be aimed at "greater democratisation of the agency's activity and the defence of the freedom of speech in the USSR".

The appointment of Mr. Ignatenko as TASS General Director is the second step taken by President Gorbachev to replace the leaders of key media institutions in the country: on Tuesday Yegor Yakovlev, former editor of "MOSCOW NEWS", was named President of the All-Union Television Company.

Mr. Ignatenko meanwhile hesitated to speculate the identity of his successor at the President's Press Bureau.

He said he planned to hold his first meeting with TASS staff on Thursday.

'Vremya' Changes Name to 'TV Inform'

LD2808214591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 28 August replaces the usual "Vremya" caption and signature tune with a new caption, "TV Inform," in yellow letters on blue ground, and with a new tune. Anchorman Aleksandr Tikhomirov introduces the new format as follows:

"Good evening. The officious headline, 'Vremya,' will no longer appear on the air. Probably the program's name will be changed. The creative teams will remain the same, but my colleagues and comrades—old and young, those at the producer's consoles, here in the studios and at the editors' desks, in the typing pool, and the equipment rooms—have entered a phase of self-purification, as have all of you. Let us assume that dictatorship on television has ended with the putsch. Let's bring back the programs banned by Kravchenko, invite the announcers who were banished from the screen, and move forward together."

This is followed by an interview with new television and radio chief Yegor Yakovlev.

Announcers Tatyana Mitkova and Dmitriy Kiselev, who were anchors for "Television News Service" until they resigned after Leonid Kravchenko became chief, are then shown anchoring the newscast.

At the end of the newscast, following the weather forecast, Kiselev says: "I am personally pleased that we are reporting the weather for the Baltic republics. This means that we are counting on viewers in these republics as well. Well, that was today's news. You yourselves will decide which of them were the most important."

Mitkova adds: "Yes, our program has ended, a program which still does not even have a name. But I think that

now we will be together with you, because from this day on all of us who work in television exist only for you. Goodbye."

One-Third of Broadcast Journalists KGB Officers

LD2808221591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have learned today some amazing news from the mouth of Yegor Yakovlev, the new chairman of the All-Union Television and Radio Company. It seems that approximately one third of our former colleagues—for all, or practically all of us working on "Vesti" previously worked for Gostelradio—so, one third of those working for what was formerly Gostelradio were in the officer cadres of the KGB, working under cover of the journalistic profession. Yakovlev stated that he has been in contact with Vadim Bakatin, the new chairman of the KGB, on this matter and that he has promised to immediately recall his people from television and radio.

Foreign Staff Appeals to TASS Collective

LD2808140491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] While following the development of events in TASS with strenuous attention, we—a group of journalists with the agency's foreign network—appeal to the TASS collective to take extremely serious decisions now being reached which will determine our joint activity for many years to come.

While supporting the initiative for the radical reform of the agency, we express the hope at the same time that good sense will prevail over emotions and that the TASS collective will make decisions which help transform TASS into a truly independent one which is guided in its work by the press law and by the principles which are accepted in international practice of freedom of speech and the press, and that you will not allow things to end up simply with "scores being settled" between representatives of various sections and within these sections.

We appeal to the TASS general assembly to seriously consider all decisions which are being made and to involve the network of foreign correspondents who make up the overwhelming majority of professional TASS staff and who are experienced in working abroad and sincerely concerned about the fate of our agency in establishing new principles for the work of TASS.

While supporting the call for the fundamental reform of TASS we do not want the current criticism of methods of managing the agency to be extended to all members of the collegium without exception, including people who have worked energetically over recent years to improve the work of TASS. [passage omitted]

These are only some of the TASS correspondents abroad with whom we have managed to communicate urgently

and to whom we have shown the text of our appeal. We know the overwhelming majority of correspondents in our foreign network share these ideas. However, we did not think we had the right to sign for them in their absence.

Mayak Journalists Appeal for Own Station

LD2908095191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By Mayak commentator Nikolay Neych]

[Text] I remind you, esteemed listeners, that you are listening to the Mayak radio station. My colleagues have asked me to come to the microphone now and address you with words that we hope will be correctly understood.

The country is undergoing an endlessly difficult, endlessly dangerous and crucial period. You will probably have noticed, by following the mass media reports, that journalists' collectives are trying to find their way in this hard period of our life. We, the journalists of the Mayak radio station, are doing this. On their behalf, and at their behest, I want to acquaint you from the microphone of this radio program with two documents we have adopted. We want to be understood, and we inform you of the following proposal by the collective of the Mayak radio station:

The attempted coup d'etat showed the defenselessness of journalists in this structure, and the impossibility of carrying out one's civil and professional duty of imparting honest and objective information about the events in the country. We suggest reviewing the structure and form of work of national television and radio broadcasting, on the basis of dividing up television and radio and transferring to channel broadcasting, and then handing over an independent channel to each company.

Specifically, in regard to our own work, that of the Mayak radio station, we propose the following: retaining for Mayak the second all-union channel and turning it into a nationwide information and music radio station that would operate exclusively on the basis of the legislation on the mass information media.

We call upon republican, all-union, public, and any other organizations with an interest in setting up such a nationwide radio station to impart full and objective information to be our cofounders.

In order to eliminate any subjective interference in the work of our radio station, we want to carry out structural changes, and will do so.

We want to create a soviet for the radio station, with broad powers. The aim is this: to exclude pressure upon journalists on the part of any state and political structures and to entrust that soviet with the elaboration and implementation of fundamental decisions on questions of broadcasting policy, and the elaboration of main

guidelines for the activity of radio stations. We intend, by making use of the opportunities available to us, to appeal to the presidents of the USSR and of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to support our proposals, the collective of the Mayak radio stations.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Proclaims Independence

914B0348A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[Appeal to readers by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA journalists: "To Our Readers"]

[Text] The publication of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, an all-Union independent newspaper of social protection for the working people, has resumed after being interrupted for three days.

We are once again saying hello to our esteemed friends, authors, and subscribers!

We lived through the terrifying days of a coup d'etat. We pay our tribute of profound gratitude and respect to heroic Russians and the leaders of Russia who stopped the putsch crew. History and our progeny will not forget them.

A meeting of journalists from the collective of the editorial office which was held on 26 August resolved:

"To consider the subsequent publication of the newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA with the previous founder impossible, in view of the fact that the CPSU Central Committee in its capacity as founder of the newspaper failed to ensure the protection of the rights and interests of the labor collective, behaved unworthily during the putsch, and did nothing to protect the USSR president and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, having kept the collective of the editorial office hostage to its irresponsible actions."

The editorial board was disbanded.

A.P. Yurkov was elected editor in chief of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. An organizational bureau was set up in order to develop a new editorial charter, editorial office structure, and a creative policy.

It is important to note that RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA with its new cofounders is registered as a successor in interest of the "old" RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. This is why it is fully responsible for its obligations to partners, including those abroad, its readers, and the law. Likewise, it is entitled to make similar requests on its own behalf and that of its readers.

The editorial office will strive to make RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA a truly all-people's forum for the social protection of the working people and furtherance and advocacy of the civil rights and freedoms of each person and each collective. We think that as of now mapping out this outline suffices to describe the strategy of an independent newspaper. Very soon, specific measures for

fundamentally renewing and refreshing the identity, spirit, and content of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA will be defined more precisely through cooperation between the editorial collective and the free trade unions of Russia.

However, this is still in the future, whereas quite recently...

Three absolutely "empty" days occurred in the short life of our newspaper—less than one year and eight months long: Last Friday and Saturday, and this Tuesday RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA did not reach its readers and subscribers. It was not of its own accord that it failed to be published.

It is painful not to work. It is even more painful to be aware that someone could have used the work which you failed to do. Innumerable calls to the editorial office made us understand that the newspaper was particularly needed precisely in the days following the rout of the coup d'etat.

The journalists and the entire editorial collective sincerely apologize to the readers. Of course, we are indebted to those who placed their confidence in us during the subscription campaign, and who waited for these three issues and failed to get them. The editorial office intends to restore the lost "volume" of information. However, you need it when you need it...

Believe us, we spared no effort to ensure that there would be no "gap" in the continuous flow of the newspaper. We asked, insisted, and appealed for the appreciation of the essence of democracy and glasnost.

During the difficult days when the newspaper was not published, we were supported by people on the streets who waited for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in front of the newsstands and empty RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA stands, by telegrams from all over the country, by visits by dedicated subscribers to our reception room, and by letters. Thank you, our friends; this made us confident that publication would resume as soon as possible.

The solidarity of journalists merits a special mention. It is gratifying that many of our colleagues in the central and Moscow mass media insisted on the publication of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA; we are grateful. However, their position is understandable in principle. All of us were born on the wave of perestroika and a revolutionary rethinking of the power of the press, free speech, and pluralism of opinions. We thank KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, Radio Russia, the Soyuz Radio Station, and all Soviet journalists who were concerned about the fate of a newspaper which fell silent.

However, we would like to express particular gratitude to our foreign colleagues, journalists. As early as Thursday, 22 August, when it became known that RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA would not be found in the mailboxes the next day, Radio Liberty voiced a protest on this account. Subsequently, the Polish newspaper TRYBUNA, the

Finnish UUSI SUOMI, the Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN, and other foreign voices and publications protested in our support. It is not enough to say that all of us were quite touched by this solidarity. We felt distinctly that the Western press as an expression of mature democracy indeed stands for free speech, specifically for authority over the hearts and minds to which all other powers bow. It was unimportant to them whether the USSR president or a newspaper were deprived of their freedom; it was important in principle that constitutional guarantees had been infringed upon. Under the circumstances, they could not remain silent. Thank you, our foreign friends.

We cannot but regret the position of our own publisher, the employees of the independent publishing house PRAVDA, who hastened to demonstrate repressive zeal before anyone else, ordering yesterday that our editorial premises be sealed and the staff be warned about the possible liquidation of the publication and mass layoffs. We certainly did not expect this of them!

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA was reregistered yesterday at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Press and Mass Information with a new set of cofounders. The collective of journalists in the editorial office and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia became cofounders. This was our second birth.

Hard work lies ahead for us, along with the entire country and a renewed Russia. As we look forward to the future, we distinctly discern first of all the faces of our people, and the marks of suffering, concern, and emotion on them. We will do everything for these faces to lighten up.

[signed] Journalists of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, an all-Union independent newspaper of social protection for the working people.

Teachers' Paper Proclaims Independence

914B0334A Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian Nos 34-35, 20 Aug-3 Sep 91 p 1

[UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA editorial staff appeal to readers and congress organizing committee statement: "The Congress Needs Support: A Joint Meeting of the Organizing Committee for Preparation of the Second USSR Teachers Union Congress and the USSR TSU Central Council Has Been Held in Moscow"]

[Text] Two and a half years ago our newspaper became a publication of the CPSU Central Committee. As is known, this occurred on the initiative of the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA editorial office itself. At that time, in 1988, a change of founder was for the newspaper the sole opportunity of publication and it rid it of departmental diktat. Although even at that time it was obvious to many of us and our readers that a teachers' newspaper could not and should not become a political publication, of one party even less.

It has to be acknowledged that the newspaper's political positions were not subjected to direct censorship on the part of the CPSU Central Committee. These positions—such as they have been until today—were conditioned primarily by a kind of self-censorship. In other words, affiliation to publications of the CPSU Central Committee fettered the editorial office and forced it to publish material of a particular political orientation.

In recent months, with the advent of a new chief editor, the newspaper has sought its own character and a new concept and has attempted to discover fellow thinkers among teacher-readers and reestablish the lost connections with former regular authors. The events of recent days have accelerated the democratic processes in the editorial staff and the newspaper's tendency toward independence, openness, and cooperation with the teaching community at large.

A general meeting of the staff was held in the editorial office on 23 August. It was decided that the editorial office would declare its intention to become an independent teachers' publication and act as the founder of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. We declare that UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA considers itself free of the influence of all political parties and organizations. The newspaper will remain the professional publication of teachers and is prepared to make its pages available to all who support a continuation of fundamental democratic changes in national education and society as a whole.

We ask you, our teacher-readers, employees of local public education authorities and members of local soviet public education commissions to support this stance of the newspaper.

On 23 August the primary party organization of the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA editorial office adopted the decision to dissolve itself.

So we acquire independence. And we are now dependent solely on you, our readers. Your assistance and support would be a subscription to UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA.

Spiridonov Altered Oversight Committee Statement

PM2808161691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Yu. Kozyreva: "USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, 1130 Hours, 19 August"]

[Text] The committee members signed a statement that appeared in the next day's press as "authorized" by the unforgettable State Committee for the State of Emergency in the form of an extremely vague TASS summary. M.V. Gorbunov, the assistant chairman, said that only five of the committee's 21 members were in Moscow on the fateful morning of 19 August: Chairman S. Alekseyev, S. Voskholov, S. Mirzoyev, M. Piskotin, and V. Filimonov. Since the committee can only adopt any decision in the presence of at least 11 members, on the

chairman's initiative the statement was formulated as questions for the USSR Supreme Soviet. The committee did not yet have the printed text of the State Committee for the State of Emergency's works and the document was compiled off the radio, "on hearsay." At roughly midday a photocopied text of the statement was sent to Lukyanov, Nishanov, Laptev, Prime Minister Pavlov, the leaders of all the union republics, and also the USSR president's apparatus.

At roughly 1600 hours M.V. Gorbunov personally took the text of the statement to the then TASS Director General L.N. Spiridonov. After studying the document Spiridonov said that he could not circulate it in this form, and there and then "corrected" the text with the participation of his deputy, V.Ye. Kevorkov.

The words "express concern at the situation that has taken shape" were the first to disappear. Kevorkov struck out the question: "Is there enough properly corroborated data to allow us to believe that M.S. Gorbachev really cannot continue to perform the duties of USSR president for health reasons?", while Spiridonov removed the paragraph saying that the USSR Law "On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency" says nothing about any state committees whatsoever, much less about vesting them with full power in the country.

Uncertainties Facing Party Papers Noted

PM2808110591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Yelena Tokareva: "Every Cloud Has a Silver Lining?"]

[Text] The corridors of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office are quiet. And this is not surprising: For a long time now only 10 percent of the staff have been working here. Only 50 people remain altogether, including the technical staff, according to staffers of the editorial office. The rest have long since gone off to other publications.

The editorial collective still does not know its fate. Chief Editor V. Chikin has not emerged from his office for several days now and has not spoken to the collective. And the collective is not in a hurry to see him. People asked me: What do you think will happen to us?

One floor above is RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which also came under B. Yeltsin's decree on suspension pending reregistration. On 19 August the first thing that Chief Editor Yurkov did was of course to run off to his beloved RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, but no one could be found in its wide corridors who could explain anything.

According to staffers of the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA editorial office, they feel obvious relief that they have gotten rid of their founder, from whose authority they had long wanted to extricate themselves. Today it is far

more advantageous to be an independent press organ, that is, of course, if you can find rich sponsors. Just as I arrived at the editorial office, Yurkov had gathered the collective for a conference. It was decided to buy out the property that the newspaper uses.

At the same time a press conference was being held by the PRAVDA editorial office. The ubiquitous foreign correspondents were tormenting G. Seleznev, first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA. Chief Editor I. Frolov was, in the best traditions of the party elite, on vacation abroad at the time of the putsch. If it were not for that circumstance, then the collective would have removed him from his post, as IZVESTIYA did with its editor Yefimov.

PRAVDA intends to be Communists' general political newspaper. It would like to see the USSR president as the founder.

Article's Attack on 'Vacationing Democrats' Cited

PM2808140191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 17 Aug 91 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed article under "By the Way" rubric, summarizing article by TASS Athens correspondent V. Malyshev carried in the TASS house publication TASS-OVETS: "Vacationing Democrats"]

[Text] "Whose Side Are We TASS Journalists On?" This was the headline under which the reflections, sent from Athens, of V. Malyshev, TASS correspondent in Greece, were published in the TASS mass circulation newspaper TASSOVETS [TASS EMPLOYEE] (No. 14, July 1991). In connection with the line which anticommunists of all levels are now pursuing, aimed at extirpating from the sociopolitical life of our people honor, party-mindedness, adherence to principles, national pride, and loyalty to noble ideals, duty, and the people, this journalist posed a question to which Soviet no professional of the pen can remain indifferent: Whose side is he on in the political battles seething in the country? With the "gentlemen-radicals of the roulette wheel" who have exchanged their democratic sweaters for jackets and bow ties and the journalist's battlefield for the petty bourgeois "Field of Wonders"? With Mr. E.A. Shevardnadze and "democrats" of his ilk, who made themselves a career in the apparatus of the CPSU and state organs and who for decades pledged "allegiance to the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism" and put those who disagreed with them in jail or in psychiatric hospitals?

"Or there is also Mr. Sobchak," the writer continues. "Incidentally, I saw him at dinner at a yacht club in Athens, where he was visiting at the invitation of a Greek millionaire. While in Leningrad people were standing in line for bread, their mayor was serenely staying at the most expensive holiday resort. He bathed in the warm sea and ate excellently. Allegedly some kind of business contacts and meetings with businessmen were planned in Athens. But actually there was nothing! It was a vacation

(not on annual leave time, incidentally) in a warm country, under the guise of a 'business' trip.

"There is another, apparently now retired, radical leader—Mrs. Prunskiene. She was unable to escape the temptations of warm seas either. Though she did not wear any mask, but came to Greece at the invitation of the same millionaire to vacation on the islands. At dinner in the yacht club she lamented the fact that at Sheremetyevo [Airport], when she was leaving to go abroad, she had had valuable ornaments stolen from her suitcase. How dreadful! Her foreign trip was spoiled...

"By the way, I will note that Sobchak also lamented the loss at the airport of a Japanese color television set which he had bought in the United States and was taking back to Leningrad. Not, one supposes, as a present for the municipality.

"I have also seen many of our present deputies on the luxury cruise ships which often weigh anchor in Piraeus. Certain enterprising smooth operators hire boats for hundreds of thousands of dollars, covering themselves with the pretexts of business cruises, foreign business meetings, all manner of cultural missions, and so forth. The benefit of these trips is nil. But on the other hand, there is the opportunity for the 'necessary people' to have a good rest and live it up in southern ports. You go on to one of these 'white steamships' [refers to title of a novel by Chingiz Aytmatov]: Well, well, the people are all familiar from the television screen! There is the journalist Chernichenko, the writer Adamovich, the economist Petrakov, ardent radical reporters from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and so forth.

"Someone will say again: Well, what are you moralizing about? People are going on vacation. Surely that is allowed? If, of course, it is on money earned with the sweat of their brow (although a place on one of these cruises costs around 30,000—where does a deputy get this sort of money?)"

TASS Reviews 29 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD2908075191 Moscow TASS in English 0542 GMT
29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—All newspapers give today a wide coverage to the "stormy days of the Soviet parliament"—the emergency session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) which is discussing the causes and consequences of the abortive coup attempt. "Our legislators are so fond of talking. Links are disintegrating just in front of our eyes, power structures are paralysed, the economy is facing the threat of a collapse, the situation is really desperate. Meanwhile, they are talking, arguing, passing judgement and settling scores." TRUD writes about the atmosphere in the Soviet parliament. The newspaper carries an appeal of the political council of the movement for democratic reforms to the session of the Soviet parliament and heads of sovereign republics to display wisdom and tolerance in these difficult days for the country.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA sets forth the report of President Gorbachev, who summed up the results of the argument at the session. "We should work out a constitutional mechanism which will immediately be put to action in crisis, crucial situations to make the supreme body of state power immediately come to the defence of legality, law and order, as well as civil rights, in order to rule out a possibility of the recurrence of the August 1991 events," he said.

In this connection RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA quotes the president as saying that democrats should meet each other half-way. The newspaper carries an interview with Igor Klovchov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, which became the founder of a "new" RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. He urged all democratic forces, independent trade unions and labour collectives to channel their efforts now to productive work. The newspaper tells its readers about what its journalists were doing after it was closed down during the August events.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports the arrival in Kiev of a delegation of the Russian federation and the Soviet parliament for discussing problems that emerged in connection with the proclamation of independence of the Ukraine.

The publication of the Soviet Defence Ministry writes about the report made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the congress of compatriots, now under way in Moscow. He said that the disintegration of the centre does not mean the disintegration of the country, much less Russia. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes a selection of materials reflecting the response of the republics to the statement of the Russian leadership, which announced that "Russia reserves the right to raise the question of the revision of borders" with the republics, which proclaimed independence.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Alexander Vladislavlev, vice-president of the Research and Industrial Union, in which he spoke about the danger of a right-wing or left-wing coup. The newspaper publishes a number of classified documents and orders of former Defence Minister Yazov and Chief of Staff Moiseyev issued on the days of the August putsch.

Newspapers carry information of Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces General Vladimir Lobov, who said that during the August developments the strategic and tactical nuclear weapons had been and continued to be under strict and permanent control.

The press carries a report of Valentin Stepankov, prosecutor-general of the Russian Federation. He said that "twelve people were arrested following the coup attempt on charges of high treason." According to Stepankov, members of the secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, some senior executives of the Central Committee and former chairman of the Soviet parliament Lukyanov would soon be interrogated.

General Lobov has contributed an article to TRUD dealing with the role of the Army in modern society. He pointed out that the Soviet Army was in need of a radical reform. Not only the outward organising structure of the Army and the Navy, but also their content should undergo dramatic restructuring. It is not enough to revise the number of arms and armed services. It is necessary to outline their specific missions, to change the system of bringing the Army up to strength, training and educating the personnel, General Lobov said.

The press writes about the avalanche of diplomatic recognitions of the Baltic republics by foreign states (the West began to feel a little dizzy, witnessing the parade of sovereignties in the Soviet Union), covers the developments in Yugoslavia (the developments in that country and the USSR will inevitably lead to the split of Europe), publish a statement made by Alexander Nevzorov after the closure of the "600 Seconds" programme, write about the crime situation in Western countries ("a maniac was wandering about the streets") and carry other reports.

Economic

USSR, Lithuania To Discuss Nuclear Plant

OW2308010491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2051 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In late August the USSR and Lithuania plan to discuss their disagreements over the energy sector, including the distribution of electricity produced by a nuclear power plant in the town of Ignalina, Lithuania, one of the USSR's 15 nuclear power plants.

Disagreements arose, say Lithuanian leaders, when the Union energy industry department decided "not to credit the Ignalina electricity toward the total of electricity produced by Lithuania." According to experts, this may make the republic that is currently an exporter of electricity, an importer.

The USSR Nuclear Energy and Industry Ministry says the measure is necessary because the power plant must be part of the integrated system of Soviet nuclear power grid if it is to qualify for Centre-supplied funds for constant "safety-improving" efforts. So far, Lithuania has declined to finance "safety-improving" efforts, said the Union ministry.

World Bank Allocates Financial Aid Package

LD2808122491 Moscow TASS in English
1143 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The World Bank has allocated 30 million U.S. dollars for technical aid to the Soviet Union, according to a World Bank official. The money will be used primarily for improving the activities of Soviet banks.

"We welcome the move by the World Bank," Andrey Zverev, Soviet Gosbank acting head, told TASS. "We will discuss using the money together with republics."

"The situation in the country is serious. Gosbank is planning to take steps to develop business contacts with leading foreign financial organisations. Next week, our representatives are planning to leave for London for talks with the leaders of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund," Zverev said.

FNPR Chairman Warns Against 'Euphoria'

914A1112B Moscow TRUD in Russian
22 Aug 91 p 1

["From FNPR Chairman I. Klochkov's speech at the session: "I Believe It Is Too Early To Rest"—TRUD headline]

[Text] "The plenum of the FNPR [Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia] Council is opening at 1700 today; people from all regions have flown in; representatives of all industrial branches of trade unions are present.

"I would like to warn all of us against excessive optimism and euphoria. We should not lose our awareness, and it is necessary that all sensible democratic and patriotic forces in Russia join their efforts in the face of the most serious threat.

"The normal process of stabilization in Russia and the Union has been interrupted. We have been distracted from the most important business, and we, the Russian trade unions, have our own view and our own opinion in regard to the solution to these problems. Today, however, everything has been pushed onto the backburner in the face of a threat of an ascent of dictatorship and the threat of major bloodshed.

"I would like, and consider it my duty, to present to you the FNPR position, and the position of the Russian industrial branch trade unions. It fully support the legitimate Soviet leadership, and the legislative and executive power.

"We support the decrees issued by the president and the government. We have maintained a working operational contact with the Russian leadership since the morning of 19 August, including personal contact with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president and the chairman of the Council of Ministers. We are coordinating our practical steps with the decisions and actions being undertaken by the Russian authorities.

"I want to say, Comrade Deputies, that we see the main problem today in the absence of information. We get through—with great difficulties—to the localities, enterprises, and regions, and we see that information on the decisions of the Russian authorities is not getting through to the workers' collectives. Therefore, the first

thing we need to do today is to bring information on the decisions of the Supreme Soviet, the President of Russia, and the republic government to the workers' collectives. We must use enterprise and rayon newspapers, find the resources in regard to newsprint and printing capacities, and use all the huge active core of worker correspondents to bring truthful and clear information in regard to what the Russian authorities are undertaking.

"I would like to tell you that we keep receiving calls and telegrams from our colleagues at trade union centers abroad. In particular, we have received telegrams from the European Confederation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labor, trade unions of Northern European countries, the Association of Swiss Trade Unions, and the Association of German Trade Unions. They express solidarity and support to us; they ask how the trade unions in the West can help Russia in practice; and they inform us that they are sending protest telegrams addressed to the 'junta,' as they call it, that has taken over power and staged a coup."

"The people are not armed; our main weapon is solidarity, coordination of efforts, and powerful joint actions that will show what the people are for and what they are decisively against. We realize that various repressions may be undertaken against us, but we are taking steps to ensure that the Russian trade union centers function under any conditions."

The tension has receded. The trade unions have welcomed the news with relief. Many people today denounce the GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency] actions. But even yesterday not everyone had dared to do so.... We would like to mention the presidium of the All-Russian Committee of Electropromsoyuz [Trade Union of Power Industry Workers], the presidium of the Independent Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers of Russia, and the Central Committee of the RSFSR Trade Union of Geology, Land Surveying, and Mapping Employees, which made their telephones available to the Russian authorities left without telephone communications. Also should be mentioned are the workers of Uralmash [Urals Heavy Machinebuilding Works], and the trade union activists of the Yamal-Nenets Republic—who did not accept the GKChP decisions, called its members criminals against the state, and demanded that they be tried for the anticonstitutional coup—and others.

In short, the civic maturity of the trade union has gone through a serious test....

Foreign Currency Sales to Citizens Resume 24 Aug

PM2808113391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Gosbank"]

[Text] The USSR Gosbank [State Bank] reports that as of 24 August 1991 authorized banks are to resume the

sale of foreign currency to citizens traveling abroad on personal business in accordance with existing regulations, within the limits of the foreign currency funds received by the banks.

Scientific

Mir Cosmonauts Unload Unmanned Spaceship

LD2608195791 Moscow Radio Moscow World
Service in English 0800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev have been unloading the Progress, an unmanned spaceship that brought some three tonnes of fuel, equipment, and food to the spacelab Mir. The Progress is equipped with a capsule to bring back to Earth some 150kg of cargo. The crew are in their fourth month in orbit.

Reporter Describes Oil Pollution of Caspian Sea

PM2808100591 Moscow Central Television Second
Program Network in Russian 0945 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Caspian—Common Concern" documentary]

[Text] [Reporter] For more than 40 years oil has been flowing out into the Caspian Sea—and from more than one well. The sea is considered clean. It was cleaned up for weeks in preparation for our visit to the oil rigs. The oilmen themselves told us that quite clearly. Our helicopter was supplied by the very department that is supposedly not polluting the sea. And that department obviously didn't want to shoot itself in the foot. But if this is a clean sea, you would not want to see a dirty one.

Pisces-Type Mir Bathyscapes Operation Described

PM2808141391 Moscow Central Television Vostok
Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT
18 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by S. Chekalin and A. Troshin]

[Text] [Announcer] What was the upshot of the Soviet-U.S.-Canadian expedition to study the famous Titanic on the seabed? Here are the details in a report from our correspondent.

[Chekalin] Here we have the research vessel, renowned for having two deep-sea submersibles aboard—Mir-1 and Mir-2. The ship has just returned from an interesting Soviet-U.S.-Canadian expedition to investigate the well-known SS Titanic on the ocean floor. It was investigated using our Mirs. The ship is now going to the spot where our submarine, the Komsomolets, sank. The Mirs will also be put to work there.

Here we have the two Pisces-type Mir bathyscapes that examined the Titanic and the Komsomolets submarine. It is from this porthole that the aquanauts were able to

observe the underwater world. Here we have two mechanical arms that can be used to get hold of any object under water. Here we have two containers that can carry objects found under the water.

Now let us show you the photographs taken from this porthole using side lights. Here we have the clearly visible silhouette of the Titanic on the bottom. And here we have some of the vegetation growing on it now. And here's a general computer photograph of the entire Titanic. That is what it now looks like under water.

[Prof. A.M. Sagalevich, head of the expedition] Both the press and television have reported that we have brought up some kind of treasure and, in addition, that we kept this expedition secret. Nothing of the kind. We don't generally advertise our expeditions. If a correspondent approaches us, we give out information. When this expedition was organized, we signed an agreement with the Canadians that we wouldn't take anything off the seabed. Anything of material value is still on the bottom. The only thing that we brought up was six rusty pieces of iron in order to study them for corrosion resistance. That is indeed interesting as the ship has been on the ocean floor for 90 years at a depth of 3,800 meters. This is a unique experiment and I think that both our physicists and chemists will be very interested to learn what has happened to the metal.

Soviet Rocket Launches Indian Satellite

LD2908082791 Moscow TASS in English
0812 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The Indian satellite IRS-1B was launched today at the Baikonur space-launch complex at 0948, Moscow time [0648 gmt]. It was put on near-earth orbit by the Soviet carrier rocket Vostok.

Military

Gorbachev Praises Army's Role in Thwarting Coup

LD2808170491 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told the Soviet military daily KRA-SNAYA ZVEZDA on Wednesday that "one of the major reasons for the coup failure is that those who usurped power failed to turn the Army against the people. The Army lived up to expectations. Charges will be brought only against those who directly prepared the coup and participated in it".

Lobov on Future Structure of Armed Forces

PM2808194091 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 Aug 91 p 2

[Interview with V.N. Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, by TRUD military observer V. Badurkin—place and date not given: "General V. Lobov: The Army Needs Radical Reform"]

[Text] Our fact file: Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov is 56. He was born in Bashkiria to a peasant family and joined the army in 1954. He went through all the ranks—from private soldier to first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

He first "earned" the displeasure of the powers that be during the well known events in Alma-Ata when, as commander of the Central Asian Military District, when he refused to send military units to the streets of the Kazakh capital. In 1986 he was the first general to put forward a concrete program for the radical reform of the Armed Forces which got him into the bad books of the then leadership of the Defense Ministry. In subsequent years, as chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, he actively advocated developing contacts with NATO. As a result, two months ago he was appointed to the modest post of chief of the Frunze Military Academy. He is a doctor of military sciences and a professor.

During the days of the attempted coup d'etat, he adopted a position of nonrecognition of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and refused to fulfill its directive appointing him commandant of Moscow's Leninskiy Rayon.

He is married with two children and a grandchild. He rents a dacha (six hundredths of a hectare) near Krasnogorsk for 1,500 rubles a year.

On 23 August, by decree of the USSR President, he was appointed chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

[Badurkin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, in your introductory article to the anthology "On Military Duty and Honor in the Russian Army," you wrote: "Military honor is the soldier's chief virtue." What do you think—did the Army keep its honor during the days of the coup?

[Lobov] I am convinced that the Army's honor was maintained. You should not identify the Army with any one subunit or division. You cannot judge it by isolated cases. As for the Moscow tragedy, it is the top Army leadership that is to blame, headed by the former defense minister. They betrayed their people, but the righteous anger against those people should not be extended to the soldiers and officers. In the anxious days and nights on the barricades and in the streets of Moscow, the true unity of the Army and the people was displayed.

There were also, most unfortunately, some soldiers in the Army who lost their honor and dignity.

[Badurkin] Many key posts in the state and the Army are now being filled by people with the new thinking, with an awareness of the need for major changes. Do you have a concrete action program?

[Lobov] Of course I do, and it did not just spring up yesterday. My views on military reform are well known and are supported by many generals and officers.

[Badurkin] What are they?

[Lobov] The Armed Forces should function and be managed in accordance with the realities of time. After all, we are still living according to the Milyutin reforms of 1862 when military districts were organized in Russia. In that time the republics have formed within our state, gained strength, and won political independence as autonomous states, and it is not possible to exercise leadership of the Armed Forces without their participation. I think the troops of a single district should be stationed in the territory of each sovereign republic. A republic should, I am convinced, have its own defense ministry (or state committee—whatever each one decides)—a civilian department—and alongside it, a commander of troops on the republic's territory. That is to say the entire leadership of the Army and Navy should be exercised along two parallel but constantly interacting vertical lines: through military-political structures—defense ministries, starting with the Union and republic ministries, down to various organs or representatives on the local *ispolkoms* [executive committees]; and through purely military structures, from the president—the supreme commander—and the General Staff down to the unit commander.

The ministries, under the leadership of the appropriate organs of power, would formulate and implement an agreed military policy depending on the international and domestic situation, and work out the military budget. They should be responsible for cadre policy—preparing future soldiers and the necessary reserve, carrying out the draft, taking care of rear services for the troops on their territory, taking an interest in the training and educational process in the units. The General Staff and the commanders on the republics' territory should, in my view, take charge of troop management, the planning and organization of operational and combat training of troops, and the provision of modern combat hardware and armaments.

There will then be a clear demarcation of functions, duties, and responsibility, ruling out the use of the Army for resolving domestic political tasks. Of course, I am not talking about the use of troops to overcome the consequences of natural disasters or, for instance, to help with the harvest. These decisions will be made by the republic parliaments and fulfilled through the Defense Ministry.

[Badurkin] So you propose entrusting the leadership of military policy to republic organs, but it is well known

that the burden of military spending is a very grave burden, and it will prove beyond the powers of many republics. It cannot be ruled out that some of them will seek to reduce their troops, even to the point of eliminating them entirely.

[Lobov] These are questions that the new Union Treaty should tackle. How this is to be done, with what funds, by what means—this should be decided first and foremost by the republics themselves, by agreement with the center.

Second, the process of reducing our Armed Forces has only just begun. In the near future, when the fulfillment of international treaties on reducing nuclear and conventional arms begins, there will be far fewer troops left.

Third, each republic will make economic provision for its own defense space not in isolation, but in collaboration with the other republics and the center.

All these questions, I emphasize, should be settled by the Union Treaty, laws, and agreements.

[Badurkin] Will these plans not lead to the formation of national armies?

[Lobov] It is not a question of setting up national armies, but of **armed forces on a republic's territory** for which it is responsible. That does not mean that, for instance, Uzbeks will serve only in Uzbekistan. There will be a quota specified in an agreement, on the basis of which the republic will provide part of the troops (the largest part) itself, and will hand over part of the draft contingent to the center in order to man units under central jurisdiction, and part to other republics.

As for the possibility of using troops to resolve interethnic and interrepublic problems, I repeat: This possibility should be entirely ruled out through appropriate treaties and agreements and the mechanisms for their implementation.

My position is this: more autonomy for the republics, and that includes autonomy on military matters. The center should unite and coordinate, within the limits of its powers.

[Badurkin] Let us move on from high politics to more down-to-earth questions of military reform. What is your view on introducing an alternative form of service?

[Lobov] Personally I am in favor of it, but again, it is for the republics to decide: who will be drafted to take up arms and who to take up the trowel, so to speak. The only thing I would like to say is: People should have weighty reasons for applying for alternative service, and the terms of that service should not appear advantageous compared with ordinary compulsory service, which I think could be reduced to 18 months.

[Badurkin] You mentioned compulsory service. Does that mean that the principle of manning the Army will remain unchanged?

[Lobov] No. My opinion, and it is shared by virtually all the officers, is that in the long term the Army should become predominantly a professional army, although there are and will be military specialties and posts which there is no point in filling with professionals.

I must say that the problem of a professional army is very complex. A great many issues will have to be resolved—from organizational questions to purely domestic, material questions, but it must be done.

[Badurkin] Real professionals are hardly likely to agree to serve for purely symbolic pay.

[Lobov] Naturally. I have some plans on this score. The main thrust of my doctoral dissertation was to achieve goals for the lowest possible expenditure of forces, resources, and time. I think this principle should also determine the size of financial maintenance of the army's entire manpower. A certain optimum level of pay is needed, and then a system of coefficients both increasing and reducing the level of eventual pay.

All this still has to be carefully considered and calculated, but it is high time to end the leveling system that prevails at present. I am convinced that the principle of material incentives should be observed in the soldier's and officer's pay.

[Badurkin] A question that is clearly of interest not only to Soviet readers: You envisage a "full-scale overhaul" of the entire organizational structure of troop management. What will become of our strategic forces?

[Lobov] It is necessary to restructure—and radically at that—not only the outward, organizational structure of the Army and Navy, but their inner content too. It is not enough to revise the number of branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops; it is necessary to define specific, concrete tasks for them and restructure the system of manning, training, and education.

As for the strategic forces, their composition, tasks, deployment, and backup must without fail be determined by appropriate treaties between the republics and the center. It is clear that in any event the control of these forces must take place on a centralized basis and must come exclusively within the competence of the country's supreme power. It is not permissible for new states with nuclear weapons to appear on the map of the world.

[Badurkin] You keep stressing the need for close cooperation with the republics—their authorities and their people—but only very recently the Army was a kind of state within a state. Even representatives of local authorities could only penetrate "their" military unit with the permission of the senior command.

[Lobov] I am glad that you are saying this in the past tense, although unfortunately even today this self-isolation of ours has not been entirely eradicated. If you like, it is purely a martinet stance on the part of certain commanding officers: Don't let them in! But why, really? The people arm us, supply us, give us their most precious

thing—their children—and we cut ourselves off from them with this notorious secrecy. It becomes paradoxical: We invite foreigners to our exercises and our defense plants, but not our own people. We will resolutely eradicate this. The people are entitled to know and will know practically everything about their Army, with the exception, of course, of anything that is a state or military secret, which the supreme authorities will determine.

[Badurkin] Since you mentioned foreigners, how will relations with them develop?

[Lobov] I have always advocated widening contacts both with the armies of the East European countries and with NATO, at all levels, in any form. Without contacts, you cannot have cooperation, and that means trust, and without trust you cannot have security.

[Badurkin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, this is the first time you have talked to the mass press in your capacity as chief of the General Staff. Maybe you would like to say something to TRUD's readers?

[Lobov] I would like to express enormous gratitude to the parliamentarians and all Soviet people for having rapidly grasped the situation in these anxious times and realized that it was not the Army that came out against the people, it was political people who tried once again to "use" it. We cannot serve without the people's confidence, and the people cannot safeguard their own security without the Army.

Shaposhnikov Discusses Army's Future Role

LD2908055491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov by correspondent Tatyana Mitkova; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Mitkova] We are in the study of Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, the Soviet Union's new minister of defense. The other day, he was given the high military rank of Marshal of Aviation of the Soviet Union. We congratulate you, Yevgeniy Ivanovich...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] Thank you.

[Mitkova] ...on that really very high rank. Permit me to put a few questions to you. The first question, naturally, is as follows: How do you, as a professional, as a military man, assess the actions of the military during the recent events? What assessment can you give them?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, first, some call it a military coup. I should like to say that it was not a military coup. It was rather a coup d'etat, or a plot by high-ranking state officials, in which there was a certain calculation about the military. But the military did, in the final analysis, remain faithful to their Constitution. They did not take up arms against their people.

What do I think are the reasons for the failure of the plot, that coup d'etat? The ringleaders of the mutiny did not know how the Soviet people are living at the moment. They only had to open the window and look outside. Life had already moved on along a completely different channel, and the people had become different, and the Army had become different. The Army knows that it will not raise a hand against the Soviet people. I think that was the reason for the failure of the plotters.

[Mitkova] That leads to another question. What will our Army be like in the future—professional or...?

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] I think that, at the present time, we have reached a state in which our Army must be professional. That is a very serious process, very lengthy, very responsible. One cannot simply say it will be professional from tomorrow onward. No. There will be some transitional period, in which I think there will exist both a compulsory service in accordance with the present Constitution and elements of a professional service, too, that will probably introduce itself, so that we shall not later find ourselves in a position in which we have declared that the Army is professional, and then we take a look and see that no one is joining our professional Army, or we haven't got enough money. Very precise studies, very good calculations are needed, and then we can make a definitive statement.

[Mitkova] Another question, if you please. Very many people are now worried by the question of who had his finger on the nuclear button during the coup...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] I would like to tell you that...

[Mitkova, interrupting]...and now, for that matter.

[Shaposhnikov] Nuclear weapons during the coup were in reliable hands. There was no cause for concern on the part of the world public at that time and especially now. Those who are supposed to now have their finger on the nuclear button.

[Mitkova] And what is the overall fate of the Soviet Union's nuclear armaments? What do you think—will they be concentrated somewhere in one place, i.e. will their administration be centralized?

[Shaposhnikov] The way I would appraise this matter is like this: Whatever the destiny of the Union—and most likely in my view it will be preserved, perhaps not in the same form as now but perhaps on some kind of socio-economic lines, because you cannot completely destroy these links now, especially the economic ones—I just cannot imagine our Army being composed of several armies located on the territories of the sovereign republics. I think we have the wit and wisdom, and all the rest, for the Army to be united; because when it is united, when it is subordinated to a single Constitution, a single president, then it will be easier to prevent it from being used against the people.

Central Control of Nuclear Weapons Affirmed

LD2808210791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] In an interview given to the Moscow correspondent of ARD, USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov announced that Soviet nuclear weapons will remain under the control of the central government. The air force marshal stressed that the agreed time-tables for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany will be kept, possibly even with time to spare. Incidentally, I was present at that interview, and I must say that the minister spoke about very important things—in particular, that our army will be professional.

Alksnis: Nuclear Weapons Under Firm Control

OW2808203691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Colonel V. Alksnis has told journalists that Soviet nuclear weapons are, to his knowledge, safely under control and incidents are impossible. He warned, however, that declaring military equipment on the territories of various republics their property might be very dangerous. The chance of a nationwide civil war has increased, Alksnis said.

Submarine Reported Hijacked in Support of Yeltsin

91UM0835A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by N. Burbyga: "A Submarine Against the Putsch"]

[Text] A submarine was hijacked on the Red Banner Pacific Ocean Fleet.

The editors have learned from reliable sources that during the night between 20 and 21 August, Captain Lieutenant Medvedev, senior assistant submarine commander, took the craft out into the ocean of his own accord. This occurred immediately after the interview the putschists gave to Soviet and foreign correspondents that was broadcast to the Far East with a delay.

The submarine was in a ship repair yard in Diomit Bay. Only seven crew members were on board, and the rest were on shore. Capt. Lt. Medvedev went ashore and appealed to the seamen not to take orders from the GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. He was supported by four ensigns and two sailors. Having put together a St. Andrew's standard, Medvedev and the ensigns and sailors who supported him went to the ship. At four o'clock in the morning, the ship left the pier and set out in the direction of Kremlev Island, which is only a half hour's trip from Diomit Bay. They had to travel on the surface since the ship could not be

loaded because of technical reasons. Near the island, it was seized by a cutter that had already been notified about the ship's departure.

What goal was Capt. Lt. Medvedev pursuing? As he said, he intended to go out to sea and contact Boris Yeltsin on the radio and declare his support for the Russian Government.

What was the captain lieutenant hoping for? After all, the ship was being repaired... At that moment, he

thought, he had to take action. And he took a stand the only way he could.

This fact was confirmed by the fleet procurator. To the question of whether or not there would be criminal proceedings against the "mutinous" seaman, we were told that the military procuracy would conduct an investigation and that would be all.

Let us clarify one thing. This was a diesel and not a nuclear submarine.

Baltic Ministers on Treaties, Expectations

LD2808133891 Berlin ADN in German 1014 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—According to the Baltic foreign ministers, the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania want to re-enter the international treaties they concluded before World War II. At a news conference in Bonn, they expressed the expectation that they will soon be able to assume the seats in the United Nations to which they are entitled. They viewed the post-war period as having been brought to a close with the recognition by numerous states and the recognition by the Federal Republic of Germany today.

The foreign ministers, Lennart Meri (Estonia), Janis Jurkans (Latvia) and Algirdas Saudargas (Lithuania) emphasised that their countries' return into the family of European peoples was a victory for the world community, for democracy and international law, but also for the over 100,000 people who had had to leave their homeland because of the Red Army terror and who had spoken out for the restoration of the independence of their states from all corners of the globe.

The primary focus of the future efforts of the Baltic states would be in the creation of a working market economy, the ministers stated unanimously. Here, relations with Russia or the Soviet Union would not be on a colonial basis as before, Jurkans emphasised. These relations, which have to be settled in agreements, have to be of mutual benefit.

Saudargas referred to the decades-long fixing of the economy and infrastructure towards Moscow. This cannot suddenly be cut off. However, unilateral dependencies will not be permitted, and there will be an increased orientation toward eastern European and Western markets. Cooperation in the Baltic Council and with the Nordic countries is to be intensified.

On the subject of the expectations of aid from the Federal Republic, Meri said that they did not now wish to exploit economically the criminal injustices of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The aid was a "question of the Germans' conscience". In addition, by the time of the joint meeting with the EC foreign ministers in September, they intended to create the prerequisites for an association with the EC. The ministers made it clear that they planned on getting similar treatment from the EC as that received by the other central and Eastern European countries.

They emphasized (the importance of) a "realistic foreign policy" to stabilize the region and Europe, also with respect to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their states. Foreign troops would not be tolerated, the Estonian representative emphasized. The timescales and modalities of the withdrawal of the USSR troops were to be negotiated with Moscow as soon as possible. At the same time, Estonia saw the obligation of taking the balance of power in the Baltic Sea into consideration and

protecting Estonia's frontiers in such a way as to be in accordance with the interests of the countries bordering the Baltic Sea, including the USSR.

The ministers all gave guarantees for the rights of the minorities in their countries. An alleged minorities problem had been fabricated by the TASS and APN agencies, Meri said. He referred to a law on the protection of minorities that had been resolved by the Estonian parliament already in 1925, before the UN had even been thought of. In Latvia, a law on citizenship was being prepared, in accordance with which all those wishing to live in the country would be granted citizenship.

Iceland Signs Diplomatic Documents With Baltics

LD2808214291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International
Service in Lithuanian 2130 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] A ceremony to mark the establishment of diplomatic relations between Iceland and the three Baltic states was held in Reykjavik today. The foreign ministers of Iceland and Lithuania, Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson and Algirdas Saudargas, signed interstate documents on appointing diplomatic and consular representatives.

Similar agreements with Iceland were signed by the foreign ministers of Estonia and Latvia.

The prospects for the further development of trade, cultural, and scientific ties were also discussed in Reykjavik. The Baltic foreign ministers also met Iceland's Prime Minister David Oddsson.

Fate of 'Nonindigenous' Baltic Residents Discussed

PM2808142791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Stroganov "Rejoinder": "War of Lawlessness"]

[Excerpts] Vilnius—It is possible that my anxieties are premature and the problem about which I am to state my opinion will be resolved adequately. However, in these times of the war of laws, and indeed of lawlessness, I fear that our worries have foundations. I am reading the "Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States," approved 23 July 1991 and open to signature from 20 August. Article 2. Citizenship of the Union. "A citizen of a state forming part of the Union is at the same time a citizen of the Union." Wonderful. But, I am discussing the situation in which both I and hundreds of thousands of other "non-indigenous" people have found themselves in the Baltic. I am, so to speak, measuring the treaty's article against my own situation. Against that of those who would not like to lose citizenship of their great country. [passage omitted]

Those living on Russian territory will also remain citizens of the USSR, if the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] signs the Union Treaty, as everyone expects it to. But people do not expect this

from Lithuania, at least at the moment. But how can people not remain loyal to their homeland, holding the passport of a great state, but...without citizenship.

Estonia

President Ruutel on Independence, Army Issues

*LD2808155691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1200 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Mati Kirotar report on news conference by President Arnold Ruutel at Kadriorg in Tallinn on 28 August—recorded]

[Excerpt] As far as Valeriy Mironov, present commander of the Baltic Military Council, is concerned, Boris Yeltsin said to Arnold Ruutel that Mironov is a man who fully understands the endeavors of the Baltic states. Despite this, Arnold Ruutel thinks that the military leadership structures do not in any way correspond to those of the Republic of Estonia and for this reason there can be no talk of any kind of cooperation with the army but only of agreements. First it would be necessary to localize the army in Estonia on their present territory, and next it would be necessary to also establish a pyramid system of leadership so to speak. That means that the army stationed in Estonia is led only from Estonia, no matter which branch of the armed forces any military units belong to. It is already known that currently different units are led from different locations.

[Ruutel] Yesterday I telephoned the new defense minister, Shaposhnikov, and proposed to him that Estonian young men and officers be released from the USSR Army. We—together with the prime minister—sent him a telegram with two signatures with a proposal to this effect. I am hoping that this will meet with a positive solution in the very near future.

[Kirotar] Well, over 30 states have recognized the Baltic states by today, but what kind of reactions have come on this score from Moscow, first and foremost from those close to the USSR president? Over to Arnold Ruutel.

[Ruutel] Perhaps indeed during the first stage as we were adopting our independence resolution, then perhaps during this stage there was a position in a number of leading USSR circles that we should perhaps leave the USSR on the basis of those additions and improvements to the constitution which were adopted on 4 April. As is known, Gorbachev, when speaking at the Supreme Soviet yesterday, did not raise the issue this way any longer. Evidently he could clearly evaluate fairly realistically the political situation which had developed. About a week ago we prepared a possible USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution on the issue of recognizing the Baltics as independent states. Matters have gone so far by today that evidently tonight or tomorrow morning the Supreme Soviet will vote to include the issue on the agenda. I still hope—because of the shaping of the political situation within the past few days—that USSR

deputies are realistic and take a correct decision, and that either the presidium of the Supreme Soviet—or was it the president's position? —will want to put this issue to the congress. Let us await these results.

[Kirotar] Arnold Ruutel expressed conviction that the Baltic states will also participate soon in the Helsinki process, as the majority of the states participating in the process have recognized the Baltics one way or another.

[Ruutel] I am also convinced that preconditions and opportunities have been created for us this way to start participating in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and elsewhere.

Views Relations With Moscow

*LD2808181691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] The Baltic News Service reports that Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, gave a news conference today during which he provided a survey of what had happened within the past few days.

While still in Moscow—after a meeting with President Yeltsin—Arnold Ruutel had asked for an audience with Bakatin, new USSR KGB chairman, to whom Ruutel presented a demand to halt the activity of the KGB in the Republic of Estonia and to reorganize the border guard service. Having returned to Estonia, Ruutel met the Estonian KGB chief and passed to him the content of the conversation held with Bakatin. According to Arnold Ruutel, steps are at present being taken for relevant Estonian departments to guard the border, together with Soviet border guards. A gradual reorganization of the customs service is taking place, and changes in the visa system are planned in the near future. Ruutel did not wish to give a specific answer to the question whether Estonia will have also visa-free relations with some countries. [passage omitted]

It is planned to take under our control all the departments that are controlled bilaterally or only by Moscow. These are, for example, railways, maritime affairs and the financial system.

Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, said that last night Ivan Silayev, acting deputy USSR prime minister telephoned him, and it was agreed to continue economic links and to reorganize economic cooperation, on an inter-state basis. So that these relations may prosper normally, the Estonian government will send an observer on its behalf to the USSR Council of Ministers. [as heard].

Foreign Minister Meri Wants EC Association

*AU2808123891 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
28 Aug 91 p 5*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Lennart Meri by Ruediger Moniac in Bonn on 27 August: "We Want Help for Self-Help"]

[Text] [Moniac] Germany has been particularly guilty in the past. I would only like to mention the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Will this responsibility be significant for future relations between Germany and the Baltic states?

[Meri] We will no longer speak about that. This chapter will belong to the past once Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have assumed their places in Europe and once our states are members of the United Nations. I have always believed that the democratic Germany will have sufficient moral strength to make up for this dark period with friendly helpfulness.

[Moniac] What are the most urgent problems that your country must solve after restoring its sovereignty?

[Meri] Privatizing the former socialist economy has started. We will be facing enormous problems in restructuring our agriculture. About 10,000 agricultural units are affected. There is a lack of agricultural machinery. With a view to the winter, we are concerned about whether the Soviet Union will honor its agreements and continue to supply crude oil. This is not mistrust on our part, but we are aware of the chaotic economic situation there.

[Moniac] Do you expect financial and economic aid from Western countries?

[Meri] We believe that one should not rely on help from other countries. We want help in order to help ourselves.

[Moniac] How do you think the Soviet-controlled heavy industry in your country can be restructured? Through privatization or state control?

[Meri] Both at the beginning, I believe. Ultimately, the industry will be privatized, but this is not the decisive problem. We must restructure our heavy industry, which is mainly producing weapons, and start manufacturing civilian products.

[Moniac] You expect association talks with the EC to begin in the near future. Do you consider this a first step toward full EC membership?

[Meri] Yes of course. This move will be accompanied by efforts to join the World Bank and the IMF.

[Moniac] What will the living conditions of Russians be like in your country in the future? Will the Russians be allowed to live in Estonia? Will they need work permits?

[Meri] I think that the living condition of the Russians will be similar to those of Swedish citizens living in Germany or of Germans living in Sweden.

[Moniac] Will Estonia introduce a new currency?

[Meri] Yes of course.

[Moniac] How will cooperation among the three Baltic states develop?

[Meri] Cooperation already exists. It was developed quickly under emergency conditions, during the economic blockade last year. It was a matter of course for us to help each other. I am convinced that this will not change in the future. There will be difficulties because the economies of the three Baltic states are not complementary. Our economies are mainly based on agriculture. So far the Baltic states have ensured the supply of Leningrad and Moscow.

[Moniac] What will become of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment troops?

[Meri] Well their members will have to look for new jobs.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Decree on Customs System

LD2808193591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1842 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maoveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 28th August (TASS)—The extraordinary session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has resolved to take under its own control the customs regime along the entire length of the borders of the Estonian Republic.

The decree adopted on setting up a single customs system emphasizes that, until the adoption of its own legislation on customs, the demands of normative acts currently in force will be observed on the Republic's western border that coincides with the USSR state border.

Regarding the republic's eastern border that separates Estonia from Russia and Latvia, since October 1990, checkpoints have been established and an economic border has been raised to defend the Republic's goods market.

The decree also declares the separation of the Estonian customs department from the USSR customs system, its merger with the department for customs, and the protection of the border guaranteeing control of the republic's internal economic border with Russia and Latvia.

Further on Borders

LD2908100791 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT
29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn August 29 TASS—The extraordinary session of the Estonian parliament has decided to assume authority over all customs controls along the whole of the Estonian borders.

The resolution on the creation of a single customs system, adopted by the parliament, stresses that until the adoption of an Estonian law on the customs structure along the western border of the republic, which coincides with the Soviet Union's national border, the existing legislation will be in force.

So far as the eastern border is concerned, which separates Estonia from Russia and Latvia, check points began to be created there in October 1990. An economic border was created to protect the republican consumer market.

The resolution proclaims the separation of the Estonian customs department from the Soviet customs service and its merger with the customs and frontier guard department, which ensures control at the internal economic border with Russia and Latvia.

Sweden Recognizes Sovereign, Independent State

*LD2808204691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] ETA reports that Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar received a telegram today from Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson which states the following:

It is a pleasant opportunity and a great honor for me to announce to your excellency in the name of the Swedish Government that the Swedish Government has decided today formally and officially to recognize the Republic of Estonia as a sovereign and independent state. On the occasion of this event I would like to convey to your excellency the best wishes of the Swedish Government to the Republic of Estonia for the future and for the flourishing of its people. Permit me also to express the wish of my government to develop and further close friendship links between our countries and peoples, the telegram says.

Chairman Savisaar Receives Russian Democrats

*LD2808093391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Republic of Estonian Government, received members of the initiative group for the Russian Democratic Movement in Estonia on Toompea today. The initiative group has emerged and wants to unite the Russian-language population who has supported and is supporting the sovereign Republic of Estonia. Belonging to the initiative group of the Democratic Movement are Boris Yulegin, Gennadiy Golubkov, (?Yaroslav Tolstikov), Valeriy Kois, and others. During the meeting with Edgar Savisaar, ideas were exchanged about further development of the Republic of Estonia and about the role of the Russian Democratic Movement in it.

Government Session Discusses Defense Issues

*LD2808200191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] Another session of the Republic of Estonia Government took place today on Toompea, chaired by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. [passage omitted] The government discussed problems connected with the continued stationing of USSR armed forces in the Republic of Estonia. District elders and mayors were charged with

the task of taking over the keeping of registers of conscripts, reservists, and officers. Talks will be begun with the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry to define the activity of the military units stationed in Estonia.

The government also adopted a resolution on establishing a public security reserve in Estonia to meet the needs of the republic's own statehood. The state customs and border guard departments will be—according to the resolution—reorganized into the Estonian State Defense and Border Guard Department. The State Defense and Border Guard Department was charged with the task of registering, within one week, healthy male persons aged 18 to 30 who express a wish to serve in the Estonian public security reserve.

The government also decided to propose to the Supreme Council that it establish Estonian defense forces and subordinate their overall command to the committee of the state of emergency [as heard]. A draft on establishing a defense ministry will also be presented to the Supreme Council.

Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Republic of Estonian government, signed an order this morning according to which all firearms belonging to establishments, enterprises and organizations in the Republic of Estonia are to be kept in the way determined by the Republic of Estonia Ministry of Internal Affairs. All cold steel and firearms and explosive devices and materials which are to be handed over to the Republic of Estonia by USSR establishments and organizations will also be handed over to the Republic of Estonia Ministry of Internal Affairs. Owning, carrying, using, and keeping any other arms or special means—truncheons, gas bottles, and similar items are meant here—are allowed only with a permit from the Republic of Estonia Ministry of Internal Affairs. Persons who break this rule are to be held accountable in the way laid down by law.

CPSU Official Resigns From Politburo

*LD2808195591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Lembit Annus, leader of the recently banned Estonian department of the CPSU, reported to ETA today that he had resigned from the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Annus said that he did so because of the inactivity of the Politburo. Yesterday he provided explanations to Juri Kasesalu. There is no blood on my hands, declared Annus to ETA. I made no statements in support of the coup, but it is the procurator's office that has to provide an appraisal.

Lembit Annus hopes to get into his office in two or three days; his passport and some other things are said to be in a safe there. In conflict with his recent statements, Lembit Annus stated that the CPSU has ended its activity in Estonia and that he himself will live according to Republic of Estonia laws from now on. Annus claimed

that his party had never gone against the people and that if the people want independence then let them get what they want.

Security Chairman on KGB Paper Burning

*LD2808193191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1200 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent Ain Saarna] Rein Sillar, chairman of the security committee: There are all kinds of stories circulating, and there is a smell of burning in Pagari Street. What is actually taking place in the buildings and premises that belong to you at this moment?

[Sillar] The 26 August resolution of the republican government suspended the activity of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] KGB in the Republic of Estonia. [passage omitted]

At the moment our main activity is to come to an agreement with the government—with the government commission—with respect to any steps. A number of specific issues will arise: for example, there are several criminal cases in progress; they are to be handed over either to the republican procurator or to the republican minister of internal affairs, according to the subordination in investigation. A section of our systems will continue to function; we have to ensure government's communications. I had a discussion on this subject with both Mr. Ruutel and Mr. Savisaar. The coding service will also continue because coded telegrams will continue to arrive through our system. Here in our republic no other establishment or department has a code service in existence.

[Saarna] And yet there is this burning smell that people can smell and claim that some kind of documents are being burned.

[Sillar] Let us start from the fact that as far as our archives are concerned—an archive of 29,500 criminal cases—their preservation is guaranteed. We have not destroyed any documents from the archives, but as far as the burning smell is concerned, naturally I have to comment on the psychological state of our employees on the whole—we all are human beings; we all have nerves, and of course it is very hard for us at this moment. I am making no secret of this. [passage omitted]

We have many kinds of personal materials and all kinds of other things. You can see that attempts are being made to carry out soldiers' greatcoats and all kinds of other things. Their personal correspondence? We will of course destroy those. We will not leave them here for strangers to find, but I will say once more, and this is my deep conviction: My opinion as a leader of the special service and as a man, we will never ever, no matter what the circumstances, we will not be able to, we will not be prepared to make known those people who at various times have rendered assistance to the KGB in its

activity. As far as specific security workers are concerned, if any of them have committed any crimes, they will be held accountable according to the law. [passage omitted]

[Olev Laanjarv, minister of internal affairs] The Ministry of Internal Affairs has to ensure public order near these buildings until the special commission set up by the USSR KGB and talks with the Estonian Government commission take effect, and this has to end definitely with a specific agreement. Rein Sillar, chairman of the KGB, spoke about a temporary agreement which is at the moment being drawn up between himself and the government commission and which will probably be signed any day now. The government leader has been in touch with Vadim Bakatin, the new chairman of the KGB, and talks are being held about a meeting to start carrying out the second stage in the talks.

Third, our legislature must also have its say because just one government resolution does not serve as a document within the process to provide both a basis and a right for us to detain people, to search them, to break into premises. I, as minister of internal affairs, state that I must ensure and will ensure public order near these buildings so another three days like those at the beginning of last week will not be the result for us in Estonia from this process. For this reason I appeal to all people to preserve calm, to listen to the news, to the statements issued specifically by the legislature on how the process is developing. Lawfulness must definitely be preserved in our current situation so that it does not become uncontrollable. [passage omitted]

Latvia

President Gorbunovs Holds News Conference

*LD2808172791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
0900 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[News conference by Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs in Riga; Gorbunov's remarks transcribed from interpreter's English translation—live]

[Text] In the hall are journalists from various publications of the Republic of Latvia as well as from abroad, from neighboring Russia, and a broadcast in Russian will be recorded and evidently broadcast during the television [word indistinct]. Anatolijs Gorbunovs' remarks are to be interpreted into English by (Karine Petersone):

[Gorbunovs] Ladies and gentlemen, before we start our press briefing I would like to come forward with a brief announcement. One week has passed since the restoration of Latvia's independent stateness. This week has been very rich in all kinds of changes and developments both in the domestic policy and foreign policy. But at the root of all these changes has been one direction: this is the strengthening of the independence of the Republic of Latvia. Today the Government of Latvia is fully in control of the situation in all the regions of Latvia. As is

known, even the Daugavpils City Council has made an official announcement that they fully abide by the laws of the Republic of Latvia. At present, changes are taking place in border regulations, regulations connected with entering or leaving the Republic of Latvia.

The present situation can be characterized by the following: We are concerned with the liquidation of the consequences that have resulted from the activities of the emergency committee of the coup. Taking into account the fact that Latvia was one of the hotbeds of the coup in the USSR apart from Moscow, we have to recognize the fact that very many organizations were very active in implementing the regulations of the state emergency committee, among them such important bodies of power structures as the Baltic Military Region headquarters and also the Central Committee Bureau and the Secretariat of the Latvian SSR Communist Party.

I would like therefore to underline three main aspects characterizing our present situation: The first of them is the attempt to eliminate the consequences of the coup, following the law and justice in all spheres. And the second aspect is connected with strengthening of the independent statehood of the Republic of Latvia in all spheres of life.

We see the irreversibility of the present events taking place in Latvia in one aspect, and that is international recognition of the Republic of Latvia. We would like to recall now with special gratitude and warm feelings the day when Iceland was the first to offer official recognition to our republic. And this event was followed by the historical moment when the Russian Federative Republic recognized the Republic of Latvia officially, which was followed by an avalanche of other acts of recognition from different countries. As you know already, yesterday the ambassador of Denmark, on a special assignment in the Baltic states, visited Latvia, and the first practical steps were taken in order to establish proper diplomatic relations between these countries.

According to the information that we have received by this morning, 16 countries have already officially recognized the Republic of Latvia, and this is no surprise to us, because we know that more than 50 countries have never recognized the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union. And the Foreign Affairs Commission of our parliament has adopted a decision and has submitted this proposal to be passed as an act of legislation at the parliament to recognize officially the statehood of Israel.

We are well aware of the fact that a period of very hard work is facing us now, and it is both in our interior affairs, in our economic and social life, and also in areas where we have to find ways to be integrated into European and world structures such as the United Nations or European Community and the like. And our integration, our joining pan-European and world structures also may

mean a guarantee for the irreversibility of our sovereignty and status as an independent country. Thank you.

[Interpreter] If there are questions now, you're welcome.

[Correspondent in English] A question from THE TIMES in London, sir. It has been reported that a commission from the Defense Ministry in Moscow is coming to the Baltics to begin preliminary discussions on the withdrawal of Soviet troops or some Soviet troops from the region. Can you comment on this?

[Gorbunovs] We have formed now a commission, the aim of which would be to carry out negotiations with respective power structures in the USSR or between the power structures in the USSR and the Republic of Latvia, and mainly in such spheres as defense, security, and interior affairs. Certainly the decisions of these commissions would not be binding, or they will not decide upon the practical steps connected with the dislocation of the USSR troops or them leaving Latvia.

The aim of the work of these commissions would be signing protocols defining the main principles of our relationships for the nearest period of time, on the basis of the adoption of the new constitutional law defining the status of the Republic of Latvia as a state. Also the aim of these commissions would be to elaborate proposals that would be submitted to the parties taking part in interstate negotiations on the issues that were mentioned, and also these proposals will concern the termination of the location of the troops, their rights and obligations and so on and so forth.

[Unidentified correspondent in English] Yes, please. How do you feel about the fact that it took the European countries actually such a long time to recognize the Baltic states, that they were actually waiting for the permission of Yeltsin? How do you feel about that?

[Gorbunovs] To my mind this quite corresponded to that policy that the European countries were conducting towards the Baltic states during the recent years.

[Correspondent] But do you think they should have started recognizing the Baltics earlier than they did?

[Gorbunovs] At any rate my opinion is that their policies could have been more consequent [as heard] and persistent than this method.

[Correspondent (Petersen) in English] (Thomas Petersen) of DET FRI AKTUELT from Denmark. Mr. President, according to KGB officials, a meeting between you and the KGB chief Ed. Johansons is scheduled for this afternoon. Can you confirm that such a meeting is taking place? And secondly, what will be the topic, if the meeting is confirmed, of your discussions with the KGB chief here?

[Gorbunovs] I have not planned a meeting with Mr. Johansons this afternoon. What has been scheduled is a meeting with a group of representatives of the USSR KGB authorized by the head of the KGB of the USSR

Bakatin, and they have arrived to discuss with representatives authorized by the parliament of Latvia to hold negotiations on matters issuing from the resolution adopted by the Latvian parliament on the liquidation of the KGB of the Latvian SSR.

[(Petersen)] Can I have a follow-up question? According to our sources, Mr. President, you were personally on the phone with Major-General Johansons 45 minutes ago. Can you confirm that?

[Gorbunovs] Certainly I can confirm that because Mr. Johansons announced that representatives of the USSR KGB Committee have arrived, have started work with the authorized representatives of the Latvian parliament, of the commission, and representatives of both the committees have expressed a wish to meet me in the afternoon and to report about the results of their meeting.

[Correspondent Udris in Latvian] Janis Udris, INFO-NOVA, the news agency of the Russian Federation. Mr. Gorbunovs, we would like to hear your opinion as to what you expect. When do you expect the Soviet Union to recognize the Republic of Latvia, and do you expect Mr. Gorbachev to hesitate for half a year again before he makes a decision?

[Gorbunovs] It is difficult to give a concrete answer to your question. I can only say, judging by the delay that has been observed between the resolutions and decisions taken by Yeltsin and also by Mr. Gorbachev, that such a delay can be expected. But probably due to the very rapid development of events of recent times, we can expect a shorter period of time.

[Correspondent (Forseth) in English] (Arne Forseth) from Danish Radio. Mr. President, can you confirm today that with all your neighbors, all the countries surrounding your republic, that you have no border disputes at all, not even in the Baltic Sea? And secondly, have you any reaction to the fact that the President of the United States still seems to be a little bit reluctant in recognizing your republic? Thank you.

[Gorbunovs] I can confirm now that we have no border conflicts with any country bordering Latvia, and certainly we are informed that there are certain legal aspects that we have to negotiate with the Russian Federation in this matter. But these are matters that do not cause serious concern for us, and my belief is that they will be settled in interstate negotiations.

As for the other part of your question concerning the stand taken by the United States of America, our belief and our hope is that by the end of the week they will offer recognition of the Republic of Latvia. Unfortunately, we can see here a certain traditional aspect, because if we recall the years 1919, 20, and 21 we can draw certain comparisons here.

[Unidentified correspondent in English] LA REPUBBLICA, daily newspaper of Italy. Mr. President, my

question concerns the Russian community living in Latvia and the Russian-speaking minority also living here. Could you tell us what is today the status of these communities? Have they been granted full Latvian citizenship already or is that going to be done soon? First question. And Second question: Do you expect in the near future any tension between the Latvian-speaking and the Russian-speaking community in Latvia? Thank you.

[Gorbunovs] I think a decisive factor here was the step taken by the Russian Federation by recognizing our country. And my belief, or my impression, is that this step should result in a deep respect among the Latvians, the ethnic Latvians of our republics, towards Russians and Russia. And this to my mind is a stabilizing factor in the domestic life of Latvia. And additionally an important factor is that by taking this step the Russian Federation takes upon itself certain obligations and responsibilities towards the Russians living in our republic. Because at present we can see that there is a development of interstate relations based on international norms of law and mutual respect. And another stabilizing factor to my mind will be the fact that the parliament will very soon have to decide the issue of citizenship, the discussion of it cannot be postponed any more. It has to be decided upon immediately. What law will issue from this I wouldn't like to try and foresee now, because this will be the responsibility of the parliament to decide upon. And I would like to believe that the parliament will adopt a resolution that will be based both on tolerance and democracy. And this will also have to serve as a stabilizing factor.

[Unidentified correspondent in Latvian] I have two questions. When will the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] forces be off of Latvian soil, and has Latvia taken control of the border posts between Latvia and Russia, and if not, when will that occur?

[Gorbunovs] We are very persistent in our demands, and this is the first demand, that the functioning of the OMON unit in Latvia has to be terminated immediately. And my hope is that the promises given by the ministers of the USSR, of the Interior and Defense, will be fulfilled in the nearest future. Our stand is that the activities of the OMON unit—that it has to be disbanded without bloodshed. And at present I can say that there exist all conditions, and agreements have been established between the Ministry of the Interior of Latvia and the Ministries of Defense and the Interior of the USSR so that the unit can be disbanded today or tomorrow.

[Correspondent] And the borders? The border question?

[Gorbunovs] As for the border controls, our main attention now in this matter is concentrated on our borders with the Western countries. This sphere is of more practical importance, because it involves a large fluctuation—people are going here and there, and individual trips are being taken, and also it has economic importance. As far as I'm informed about the situation on our

eastern borders, nothing much has really changed there. The only impediment is that those citizens of foreign countries that arrive in Latvia with visas of the Republic of Latvia cannot cross our eastern border and go further with these visas.

[Correspondent] If I may follow up, does that mean that the Russian Republic or the Soviet authorities at this point are not cooperating with Latvia in terms of setting up some sort of joint border posting as we have seen in Lithuania?

[Gorbunovs] Yes, in this respect you are right, and the main impediment, the main obstruction that hampers the settlement of this, is that only tomorrow the parliament is going to sit on legislation concerning the customs regulations.

[Unidentified correspondent in English] Mr. President, from the DAILY TELEGRAPH in London, another question about the OMON forces. Last night Mr. Ivans said that planes were on their way to take away the OMON forces. This morning at the OMON base outside Riga the OMON said they had no intention of leaving. Can you give any more information about these planes, whether they are on the way, and if, as the OMON say, they don't go, what will you do?

[Gorbunovs] I wouldn't like now to comment upon the actions undertaken by the Latvian Government, by the leadership of the Baltic Military Region, by the USSR Ministries of Defense and the Interior, in order to put an end to the activities of the OMON. As soon as these power structures run short of their own means of disbanding the unit, they will probably come forth with their own announcement in this matter. And this will happen in the nearest future.

[Correspondent] But if they—sorry—but if they do run short of their own means, then what will Latvia, what will the Government of Latvia do, what means will they take?

[Gorbunovs] Then we will announce about our decision.

[Correspondent Austin in English] Tony Austin from REUTERS news agency. Mr. President, you said just now that commissions are being set up to negotiate with central authorities on security and interior matters. You also gave the impression that these commissions are going to be setting up protocols and will not be negotiating the day-to-day practical withdrawal of army troops and the KGB. Is Latvia going to give a deadline for the withdrawal of KGB and army forces?

[Gorbunovs] I would like to stress once more that these commissions are now elaborating the most emergent [as heard] issues. And the protocols will define the basis of relationship between our power structures and the mentioned institutions of the USSR, and the legal basis will be the constitutional law of the status of our republic. As for the security forces and the KGB, and the OMON unit, the parliament has already adopted resolutions

about putting an end to the activities of these structures, and now what concerns us is how to implement these resolutions in practice.

As for the Armed Forces of the USSR, you have to take into account and you have to understand that this is a complicated matter, and we can judge from the experience of eastern Europe that it takes a long time to solve these matters.

[Correspondent Austin] Just a quick follow up. But surely it's not correct to say you have total control of the situation as long as there are forces on the territory of Latvia which don't belong to Latvia?

[Gorbunovs] The government of Latvia controls and will have control over the situation in Latvia unless the Armed Forces of the USSR intervene. And during our meeting with the Minister of Defence of the USSR, he especially underlined this, that the Armed Forces of the USSR will by no means intervene in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Latvia. And the first issue to be settled now is the issue of the legal status of the Armed Forces of the USSR in the territory of Latvia.

[Correspondent Aldrin in English] John Aldrin from the ASSOCIATED PRESS. Continuing with the military discussions, I wonder if Latvia would consider a compromise with the Soviet Union, for example, leasing military bases on Soviet territory or lending them the bases for a certain amount of time?

[Gorbunovs] This has to be decided in interstate negotiations. But as the experience of Germany shows, we see that we'll have to look for compromises in certain aspects.

[Correspondent (Bombin) in Latvian] (Mikhail Bombin), Radio Liberty. You mentioned today the recognition offered by European countries and Russia. How would you comment on the stand expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev about recognition of the Republic of Latvia by the USSR, that this has to be done constitutionally, on the basis of the constitutional law of the USSR?

[Gorbunovs] No act or document certifying recognition of the Republic of Latvia by the USSR has been sent to Latvia. My understanding is that such an act would be either signed by the president himself or by the Supreme Council. It can be quickly adopted by the Supreme Council of the USSR or by the People's Congress of the USSR. But to my mind President Gorbachev now may find it difficult to define what the USSR is at present. And probably this is where the main problem derives, not probably the fact of recognition or nonrecognition of the Republic of Latvia. The last question, please.

[Unidentified correspondent in English] DAILY EXPRESS. Mr. President, can you tell us whether the Latvian government has yet requested economic aid from the European Community, and if not, when will it be doing so, and how much will you be asking for? And

the second question: What are the most pressing economic and commercial needs of the republic now?

[Gorbunovs] I can say that economic aid needed by all the three Baltic countries together might be as big as two or three billion dollars. Besides, the need is very emergent [as heard] and it concerns very many aspects of life. One of the aspects, and a very important one, would be to help us to start our international activities and to establish proper diplomatic relations. And a very important aspect is certainly support for the developing trade and business relations and economic type of cooperation. And what we treat very positively, and what we would like to characterize as one of the most necessary things is that now very many foreign delegations have arrived, members of which are experts in different spheres, and just cooperation on an expert level is really what we need. We have not yet officially appealed to the European Community, but we have always maintained this as a necessity.

[Correspondent] Can I just follow it up? Where do you think this two, three billion dollars is going to come from? Where do you hope it's going to come from?

[Gorbunovs] Our hope is that this aid could be offered both by the European Community and also the United States and Canada. Therefore it is very essential for us to start our activities in the existing structures in the Nordic countries and on a pan-European level as well.

[At this point the English translation of Gorbunovs remarks ends; Gorbunovs continues] And in conclusion I would like to ask Latvian journalists: Just now here I was informed by our commission on local government, they examined the question of how at the moment, what is happening at the moment with the property which by the relevant resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia or of the Council of Ministers is being handed over to the people, and for further decisions by the local governments and the Council of Ministers. And here the fact must be stated that unfortunately, theft of this property is taking place. And therefore a very great request: The Commission on Local Government begs journalists to orientate public opinion to the protection of this property from theft, because it is very important; everything must happen only within the framework of the law, only legally, only by the relevant local council decision or that of the Council of Ministers. Thank you.

OMON To Disband, Leave Latvian Territory

OW2808155991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First deputy head of Latvia's Supreme Council, Dainis Ivans, told a news conference in parliament on Wednesday that the republic's Defense Council had endorsed the "Terms of OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] Subordination" and sent the document to the OMON base in Riga.

D. Ivans said Moscow would disband the OMON unit and evacuate it from Latvian territory by air.

As far as OMON's performance in Latvia was concerned, D. Ivans said if it proved impossible to bring legal charges against OMON in the republic, all the existing materials would be handed over to the RSFSR Procurator's Office.

Parliamentarians Negotiate With KGB Delegation

OW2808113591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1045 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A member of the Latvian parliament Linards Mucins told a Tuesday news conference that a delegation of the USSR KGB that arrived in Riga for talks submitted its proposals on the basis of the agreement of August 21 which implies a transitional period for the closure of the Latvian KGB.

According to Mucins, the USSR KGB would want to keep its structures in Latvia, but under a decision of the Latvian parliament the Latvian KGB has been closed and there can be no compromise on the issue. He also said that the Soviet side does not want to agree to the nationalisation of all KGB property in Latvia.

Mucins said that there is proof of a conference of leaders of the Latvian Communist Party on August 19 in support of the coup. This conference was attended by the leaders of the Latvian KGB Generals Edmunds Johansons and Stanislavs Zukulis.

USSR Military Ordered To Stop Activities

LD2808114191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
0530 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Latvia has adopted a resolution stopping the activity of the USSR Military Commissariat on the territory of the Republic of Latvia.

Activities of Military Commissariats Ended

OW2808160391 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Latvia decided on Tuesday to end the activities of the Soviet military commissariats on Latvian territory.

A parliamentary commission has been established to deal with the transfer of the military commissariats' former property to self-governing institutions. The members of the commission have become acquainted at first hand with the agreeable conditions of the Baltic Military Region Command.

At a meeting the newly appointed commander of the Baltic military region, Lieutenant-General Mironov, stated that negotiations would soon begin between the Latvian Government and representatives of the USSR Ministry of Defence on the function of the local military administration bodies.

The military commissariats have therefore been ordered to cease all activity except the provision of pensions for Ministry of Defence pensioners, the provision of benefits and the issuing of certificates for Afghan war veterans participants in the clean-up operation after the Chernobyl disaster and World War Two veterans.

Force Established To Guard Parliament Building

*OW2808154891 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1500 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Supreme Council has passed a resolution appointing the First Police Battalion of the Latvian Interior Ministry to guard the parliament building and fulfil a number of other tasks as a special force attached to the parliament.

The force will be subordinated directly to the head of parliament Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

The resolution instructs the Interior Ministry to supply the parliament's guards with uniform, firearms, means of communication, and special equipment.

The Supreme Council, for its part, undertakes to provide premises, vehicles and whatever other financial and technical aid may be needed.

Rubiks Charged With Attempt To Seize Power

*LD2808145191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian
1300 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] The head of the investigation department for serious cases of the Latvian Procuracy, (Rita Aksionaka), has reported that yesterday evening Alfreds Rubiks, in the presence of his lawyer, was charged with participation in a plot with the aim of seizing power in Latvia. Alfreds Rubiks is presently being held in an isolation cell of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Latvia. (Rita Aksionaka) denied rumors that Alfreds Rubiks was allegedly beaten by criminal elements sharing his cell.

Procuracy To Accelerate Coup Investigation

*LD2808185891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
0530 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] A meeting of the procurators of towns and rayons took place at the Republic of Latvia Procuracy. Primary attention was paid to the coordination of the work of the structural units of the republic's Procuracy and also of the procuracies of towns and rayons in order to ensure

quick and successful investigation in Riga and in the entire territory of Latvia of the consequences of the anticonstitutional coup.

Communist Property Taken Into State Ownership

*LD2808193391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
0702 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] In fulfilling the resolution of the Supreme Council, the property of the Communist Party of Latvia in all the rural rayons of the republic is being taken into state ownership. As the director of the municipal department of the Council of Ministers, Janis Salenieks, told a LETA correspondent, in all the 26 rayons party buildings had already been sealed and placed under guard by the evening of 23 August, and by the evening of 26 August the self-governments had taken under their authority the State Security Committee's premises in all rayons. The DOSAAF [All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force, and Navy of the USSR] has also handed over its property to them.

In the rayons, commissions have been formed which are drawing up an inventory of party property; the social establishments, sanatoriums, and vacation homes of all-Union subordination are being taken over. Everything that the local power does, in taking into account all the former all-Union subordination enterprises, not allowing the property of the Republic of Latvia to be dispersed—and thereby not allowing us to be robbed—is very significant at the present moment, the director of the municipal department emphasized.

Lithuania

Landsbergis on Meeting With Baltic District Head

LD2808194791

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1630 GMT on 28 August carries a 45-minute recording of a news conference by Lithuanian President Vyautas Landsbergis in Vilnius on 28 August. The announcer introduces the recording: "As we already reported, today the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania met with the new commander of the Soviet Army stationed in the Baltic states, Lieutenant General Vyacheslav Mironov. After this meeting a news conference by Vyautas Landsbergis took place. It was conducted by the press representative, Audrius Azubalis. Listen to a recording of the news conference:"

Landsbergis says: "Today I had an opportunity to get acquainted with the new commander of the Baltic military district, Lt. Gen. Mironov." He continues: "I can tell you what I told him. The basic and fundamental issue was the withdrawal of the army from Lithuania. Maybe this will start practically with the notorious unit of black berets, the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]. Then there were such problems as the functions that are still being carried out by the Soviet military. There still exist in some places the so-called

military commissariats which have been engaged in the recruiting and calling up of young people."

Landsbergis then says: "At present, naturally, this work will cease. In some places these military commissariats and the buildings and documents concerning our youth are being taken over by us, because we must observe the return of our young people serving in the Soviet Army. This issue was already agreed upon a few days ago. We discussed this issue today, too."

"There are in some places obstacles to our crossing the border. There were reports today from Lazdijai that border guards started demanding Soviet visas and did not recognize Lithuanian visas. Border services are being handed over, not from the former KGB subordination, but directly by the Soviet Army. I mentioned this issue. There were talks about some incidents or about alarming information about the possible Soviet soldiers' [words indistinct] at the level of terrorist [word indistinct]. I passed on this information to Gen. Mironov and he promised to take care of it. He reported that explanatory work was taking place in the units stationed in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and the new situation was being explained."

He continues: "Of course, former propaganda that they must defend the Soviet Constitution, that they have to obey the decrees of President Gorbachev, and so on, is not taking place [word indistinct]. This is very positive and demonstrates the stand of the new Soviet military leadership. Of course, great influence is being exerted here by Russia's leadership the stand of which on this issue was clear in the past."

Answering questions by journalists concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet Army, Landsbergis stated: "I would like the withdrawal of the Soviet Army to start this year, but any possibility to withdraw it before it is withdrawn from Germany is hardly realistic and we, probably, will not formulate our wishes this way."

Asked whether the future defense system will be limited only to Lithuania or whether there will be a defense system of the Baltic states, Landsbergis said: "Your question could be answered, if he wished, by the general director of the country's Defense Department. I can only state our general position that we wish to take part in collective agreements ensuring the security of this part of Europe."

Asked whether Lithuania's borders are in the hands of the Lithuanians, Landsbergis answered: "They are in our hands, but the pass control is, so far, joint. How the control of the border where it is not passable is being carried out I cannot tell without going there, whether there are some patrols by the Soviet military, or not. But we agreed that there would be no obstacles to building work where the railway line extends directly to Poland and which was disrupted after the Soviet annexation. Currently this railway is being rebuilt and the border crossing will be ours."

Agreement With Military Command

OW2908151991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, the president of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, met on Wednesday with the newly appointed commander of the Baltic Military Region, Lieutenant-General Valery Mironov.

After the meeting Mr. Landsbergis said that General Mironov was not authorized to resolve major questions relating to the presence of the army on Lithuanian territory but will merely carry out the relevant orders from Moscow.

The Lithuanian Government's Press Office announced that at a meeting on August 28th between Lithuanian Deputy Premier, Zigmas Vaishvila, and Valery Mironov, the latter promised to settle the Vilnius riot police (OMON) [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] issue.

During the meeting General Mironov issued an order forbidding the commander of the Vilnius military garrison to allow members of the riot police to take weapons outside the Northern Military Base.

A sub-unit of the Vilnius riot police had earlier abandoned its base and is now at the Northern Base, where parts of the Vilnius garrison are stationed.

General Mironov announced that a decision is expected from Moscow discharging Lithuanian soldiers from service in the Soviet Army and transferring military commissariats and commands to the republic.

Both sides recognised that Soviet military personnel should be subject to Soviet law in barracks and to the laws of the Lithuanian Republic elsewhere. Mironov promised to inform the Lithuanian Government of all manoeuvres and announced that military force would not be used in the Baltic republics.

Government Warning on Commissariat Takeovers

LD2808211191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The government press bureau is instructed to state that representatives of some local republican governments have started taking over the buildings and stock of the military commissariats in violation of the order established by the government. This happened in Panevezys, Anyksciai, and Telsiai. The government asks the local government leaders to follow only the decisions adopted by the government on the taking over of the property of former military commissariats and commandant's headquarters of the USSR Ministry of Defense and to coordinate their actions with the commission for the abolition of military commissariats and commandant's headquarters which is headed by the deputy

general director of the country's Defense Department, Pauzuolis. [passage omitted]

Any willful actions may worsen current good relations between the leadership of the republic and the USSR military leadership. The Lithuanian Government one again appeals to people of Lithuania not to gather at the USSR military commissariats, not to create panic, and to remain calm.

Conscripts, Officers May Leave Soviet Army

*LD2808033191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0200 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Lithuanian young men currently serving in the ranks of the Soviet Army may return home unhindered if they wish. This was announced on 27 August by the new USSR Defense Minister of the USSR, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, speaking on the phone with the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Vytautas Landsbergis. Lithuanian officers may also either transfer to the corresponding formations on the territory of the Republic or resign if they wish.

OMON Tries To Strike Deal on Confrontation

*LD2808195491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] A high-ranking official of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Internal Affairs has approached the leaders of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs to announce a proposal by the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] to make use of the zero option: the unit should cease its activity and the Republic of Lithuania should stop its legal persecution. The reply was that the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs is not competent to examine such proposals.

Vilnius Explosion Tied to OMON Troops

*LD2908105491 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT
29 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustila]

[Text] Vilnius August 29 TASS—An explosion occurred at 2 o'clock in the morning on the Jogailos street in Vilnius today.

Lithuanian parliament spokesman Audrus Azubalis has told a news briefing the explosive device was thrown at the door of one of the buildings of the Vilnius police from a passing "Uaz" vehicle. He added that such cars were used by the Soviet Interior Ministry "OMON" [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] troops.

As was announced, the Lithuanian leadership has asked, on more than occasion, the leadership of the Soviet Defence and Interior Ministries to disarm "OMON" troops deployed in Vilnius or pull them out of Lithuania altogether.

This question was raised at a meeting on Wednesday by chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis with the new commander of the Baltic Military District Lieutenant General Valeriy Mironov.

However the issue of withdrawal and disarmament of the USSR Interior Ministry troops remains open.

Government Asked To Take Party Members' Weapons

*LD2808204391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] The Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs has received a telegram from the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation stating that, according to information available to these departments, some leaders of the CPSU are in possession of personal weapons.

On the basis of the decree of 25 July 1990 issued by the Soviet Union's president and the order of the 4 January 1991 of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Internal Affairs, the leading personalities of the CPSU have no right to keep and carry weapons. The telegram proposes that immediate measures be taken to confiscate weapons of such persons.

Arrest of Lithuanian Communist Leader Denied

*LD2808202491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Press representative Audrius Azubalis has denied a report disseminated by the mass media about the arrest of Juozas Kuolelis, secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Landsbergis on Independence, Failed Coup

*AU2808155191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 26 Aug 91 pp 1, 7*

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by Malgorzata Narbutt; place and date not given: "Reality"]

[Text] [Narbutt] "It is not possible to live under this system. Besides, the system no longer exists." You said that a few weeks ago in an interview published in the Paris journal KULTURA. That has now turned out to be more true than one could have imagined.

[Landsbergis] Everything has collapsed. Besides, the Soviet Union no longer existed a year ago. There were ministries, the Army, and the KGB, and that was called a state. Attempts may still be made to return to the past. However, they will be no more than attempts at reviving a corpse. I do not think that it will be possible to maintain the empire for more than a week.

[Narbutt] The Soviet Union will cease to exist. However, Russia, which has imperial traditions that are well

known, will continue to exist. Will that not pose some kind of threat for the future?

[Landsbergis] There is no one who stood for greater imperial traditions than the Soviet Union. That is why we are not afraid of a new Russia. However, why should we consider hypothetical problems? If they come into existence, we will have to deal with them.

[Narbutis] You have very good personal contacts with Boris Yeltsin. The West has also begun to support Yeltsin in the past few days.

[Landsbergis] It is slowly becoming apparent to Western politicians that Gorbachev is only a myth. Yeltsin is the reality. Gorbachev did not return to power, he only returned to the Kremlin.

[Narbutis] The coup in the Soviet Union—although such a possibility was talked about for a long time—came as a great surprise to the West. Was there a similar feeling in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] Absolutely not. The coup was a continuation of the events that have occurred in Lithuania since January. When we saw that the Soviet Army was not leaving the buildings that it had occupied, we understood that the January events were not over yet and that they would have a further stage. The problem began with the occupation of the television center. That made the USSR incur enormous political and ethical costs. The only thing we did not know was when and under what circumstances the Army would make a further move. Following the massacre at Medinikiai, we realized that such a move was close at hand. Lithuania once again became a testing ground for the USSR.

[Narbutis] The Army has already left the buildings that it occupied. The KGB is not functioning, at least not officially. The Communists have evacuated Lithuania. Is that a signal that Lithuania will shortly be completely free?

[Landsbergis] It is not a signal, but reality. There has been no Soviet rule in Lithuania since 11 March 1990, that is, since the declaration of independence. A Soviet prosecutor was brought to Vilnius, the KGB was there, and so was an army of occupation. These were all foreign structures that were rejected by the Lithuanians, who refused to obey them. They could have dealt us a blow, but they did not have the strength to disorganize our life.

[Narbutis] The Soviet Army still exists. Do people not fear that it may be used against Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] Gorbachev can no longer send in the Army, and Yeltsin would not want to.

[Narbutis] Lithuania will shortly become a completely independent state. Certain problems will have to be settled, including the presence of the Army on its territory. When will negotiations take place?

[Landsbergis] There is no one to hold negotiations with. The members of the Soviet negotiating commission have been dismissed. Besides, the commission was not established in order to negotiate Lithuania's separation from the Soviet Union, but in order to prevent that from happening. As far as the Soviet Army in Lithuania is concerned, we have two programs. The maximum is no foreign army on our territory. The minimum is that we will hold talks on the gradual withdrawal of forces and we will agree conditions for the operation. In any event, Boris Yeltsin, whom I trust, assured me that Lithuania does not possess any nuclear weapons.

[Narbutis] There may also be other problems connected with the independent existence of Lithuania. The Klaipeda problem, and border disputes with Belorussia.

[Landsbergis] Problems can never be avoided. The problem of Klaipeda: Are you referring to the port, crude oil, or the transit question? We have signed an agreement with Russia that will regulate these matters.

[Narbutis] What kind of foreign policy will Lithuania pursue? Will it continue to be oriented toward the Scandinavian countries? Some people maintain the road to Europe does not lead through Scandinavia, that that road is a blind alley.

[Landsbergis] Well, the road also does not lead through Poland, because it is also closed to us.

[Narbutis] But a Polish-Lithuanian treaty is going to be signed shortly.

[Landsbergis] Yes, that is true. In our international policy, we are guided by the signals coming from our partners. The Scandinavian countries were not just our choice. They not only sympathized with us, but also helped us.

Landsbergis Thanks Walesa for Stand on Baltics

*LD2808090591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1545 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondents Petr Cheremuskin and Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (TASS)—There was a telephone conversation this afternoon between Polish President Lech Walesa and Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council.

According to what TASS was told, at the press office of the president of the Republic of Poland, V. Landsbergis thanked L. Walesa for the readiness expressed in today's declaration by the Polish Government to establish normal interstate relations with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The Lithuanian leader expressed the hope that this declaration will begin a new phase in relations between peoples.

Walesa wished Lithuania success on the road to complete freedom and drew attention to the difficulties that

still have to be overcome, especially economic problems. They may become one of the factors hindering the normalization of the internal situation. The head of the Polish Government also touched on the problem of Lithuanian Poles and expressed the hope that in the new situation in Lithuania they will find a place appropriate to their aspirations.

Some Press Production, Distribution Forbidden

*LD2808101591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] The press control board attached to the Ministry of Internal Affairs informs that the production and distribution of the following press is forbidden in Lithuania:

The weekly unregistered supplement to the newspaper TARYBU LIETUVA, MORALE IR TEISE AW [MORALS AND LAW], in Lithuanian and Russian; MUSU KELIAS [OUR WAY], an unregistered Siauliai town publication of the Soviet Union's Communist Party; and MOLODEZH LITVY [LITHUANIAN YOUTH], an unregistered newspaper of the Lithuanian Komsomol.

The newspaper published in Kaunas, TIESON VARDAN [IN THE NAME OF TRUTH] has been temporarily prohibited as violating the press law.

Customs Official Rejects Soviet TV Criticism

*LD2808222491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] The Soviet Union's central television, in its TSN [Television News Service] news broadcast today, criticized the work of the Lithuanian customs and border officials. It was stated that after the Lithuanian customs officials took over the Lazdijai customs office, disorder and confusion started there.

Valerijonas Valickas, head of the Lithuanian Customs Department, said that authorized representatives of the Soviet Union's Customs Committee arrived in Lithuania on 27 August. They visited the Lazdijai customs office, positively assessed the work of the Lithuanian customs officials, and acknowledged that the Lazdijai customs office is functioning in a normal way.

At the present time of improving relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union, reports by the Soviet mass information media based on unconfirmed facts are misleading the public and have a negative influence on the atmosphere of mutual trust.

Yeltsin Addresses Congress of Compatriots

LD2808152891 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—"The disintegration of central authorities is not the disintegration of the country, especially not of Russia," President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Republic told participants in Moscow's Congress of Compatriots. He stressed that the leadership of the Republic of Russia favours "the renovated Union, the single Russian Federation".

Yeltsin said that during his meeting with the leaders of republics within the Russian Federation earlier today, all of them favoured the prompt signing of a joint statement on Russia remaining single and indivisible.

According to the Russian president, the speeding up of the process of acquiring independence by Soviet republics does not mean that the idea of the Union is dead. Yeltsin favoured the prompt signing of the Union treaty.

In discussing the problem of nuclear weapons in the future Union and in republics which intend to secede, Yeltsin said he had talked about the problem with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and they decided the problem should be taken up by the USSR Security Council with the participation of all the leaders of republics.

According to Yeltsin, nuclear weapons are now deployed on the territories of three Soviet republics: Russia (about 85 per cent), Kazakhstan and the Ukraine. As the Ukraine has proclaimed itself a nuclear-free republic, the nuclear weapons will be relocated in the Russian Federation, he said.

Yeltsin voiced apprehension that an attempt at a constitutional takeover may be made at the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies that is due to open on September 2.

"We have no constitutional mechanism for dissolving the Congress, which would be the best way out, and because of this we must get ready for the battle," Yeltsin said.

Speaking about Russia's authorities' activity in restoring Russia's historical and cultural traditions, Yeltsin said that the transfer of a number of cathedrals in the Kremlin to the church is now being considered. "The Kremlin belongs to Russia, not the centre," Yeltsin added.

The president did not rule out the use in the Russian emblem of the two-headed eagle, but not the crown.

Denies Rumors of Country's Collapse

OW2808182191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting with the Congress of Compatriots Wednesday, Russian President Boris

Yeltsin urged its delegates not to believe "alarmist rumours about the collapse of the entire country". "The collapse of the center does not mean the collapse of the whole country, all the more, the Russian Federation", he stressed. Mr. Yeltsin said that during his meeting with leaders of the republics making up the Russian Federation today, August 28, all of them spoke in favor of signing the Union statement pointing out that Russia should be a unique state.

Speaking about the USSR Supreme Soviet, Mr. Yeltsin said: "I consider it an accomplice in the coup attempt and I will insist on its dissolution at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies".

The Russian president also said that part of the Kremlin cathedrals would be possibly transferred under the authority of the Church and that the CPSU CC [Central Committee] building had already been given to the Russian Council of Ministers.

Speaking about the recent coup d'etat, Mr. Yeltsin said that already in the evening of August 19 a reserve center had been set up in Sverdlovsk to begin operating in case the Russian leadership was arrested. That center, located deep under the ground, included 22 members of the government headed by First deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council Mr. Lobov.

Speech Details Recent Events

LD2808200991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1436 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Speech by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic president, at a meeting with participants in the Congress of Compatriots in Moscow on 28 August—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, compatriots: Most of all, I want to beg your forgiveness for inviting you, and then at the same time, not attending the opening nor welcoming you on the 19th, because other events also occurred on the 19th—unfortunately, dramatic and tragic events. Permit me, first and foremost, to express my deep gratitude to you for being here on our native soil at this tragic time. On behalf of the Russian people and myself, I give you my heartfelt thanks for your courage and firm support for Russia's leadership during these 72 hours, the 19th, the 20th and the 21st. I bow before those who were in the parliament building of the Russian Federation and around it at that fateful time, exposing their lives to immense risk, for it was clear that if the assault had been successful—and it is clear now that this was the plan, according to all the documents—nobody would have been spared. The forces of reaction failed; democracy was victorious. Russia's young democracy not only asserted itself, but also managed to defend itself against the Army, the KGB, the Interior Ministry, the partocracy, communism, socialism, and other isms. [applause]

I congratulate all congress participants on the fact that in spite of the problems, this unprecedented forum of those to whom the word "Russia" is sacred, this first congress, has taken place with fruitfull results. [applause]

Today I can say that the organizers of the congress were not completely confident of success. Too much has happened in the last seven decades. The division that has split the people of Russia was too deep. But we were all united by the conviction that if we continue to be divided by that invisible wall, our motherland risks losing forever the spiritual foundations of its national life. Responsibility and love for Russia have brought us together and inspired us to begin the noble, difficult task of reunification. There must be no barriers to contacts between compatriots, in whatever part of the world they live. No longer must the great history of this country be replaced with ideological myths. Unconsciousness, that most serious illness which has infected an immense people, will definitely vanish into the past, and this is a most important condition for our motherland to acquire its future at last.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, the sinister shadow of the past fell on Russia during the days of your congress. The threat of a bloody dictatorship again hung over the country, as it did in 1917. There are among you some who experienced the tragedies of 1917. They were probably more acutely aware than the others of the terrors posed by the activity of the new junta with the repulsive title of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. But history has taught our people much. You have seen with your own eyes and felt in your hearts that Russia is regaining its national pride and its people are recovering their truly human dignity. [applause]

Today this is no longer a country of slaves and butchers. Much has been lost, but nevertheless it has not been possible to destroy the highest spiritual qualities of people in 74 years. Heroism and selflessness, mercy and unity in moments of danger have been factors in saving freedom and democracy in Russia. All this has been manifested in full measure by our young people—our future—who are here today. A second birth of Russia has indeed taken place in these days. The past years and decades of revolutionary obscurantism are slipping away. But you yourselves have seen what has become of Russia in the decades of the domination of the communist regime. The country has been exhausted, impoverished; the course of its life has been disrupted.

The deep wounds inflicted upon the Russian people are bleeding and causing pain. They cannot be cured in a short time. We assess realistically the present-day situation and our possibilities, our strong and weak points. But we have faith in the homeland and are convinced that it is bound to revive. Russia's citizens are capable of building their country. They have supported a course toward radical reforms. Russia's sons have given their lives for it.

The putsch has suffered a crushing defeat. But worrisome questions remain: What will happen next? What are our homeland's prospects? I should like to share with you my thoughts about this problem. We are driven by a simple desire, clear to everyone, to live in a free and prospering country. Today the main task is to remove the obstacles that prevent people from participating in the cause of reviving Russia in accordance with their interests and needs. The irreversible process, I believe, of disintegration of the political system which has dominated the country throughout all these decades has begun. The nomenclature pyramid of the CPSU is crumbling. Its Central Committee building has been sealed. Incidentally, the Central Committee building has been handed over to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers. [applause] The highest party and state union structures are collapsing, including such sinister ones as the KGB. [applause]

Events are developing at such a rapid pace that certain people start panicking and see it as a general collapse. Given all the complexity, I am convinced, however—and this seen during the discussion at the RSFSR State Council today—that this is a distorted impression. The collapse of the center is not tantamount to a collapse of the country, let alone Russia. [applause] At a difficult time for the country, the republics and primarily Russia took upon themselves the main burden of supporting the viability of the state.

Our policy of strengthening the sovereignty of Russia and her statehood has been vindicated. After the elimination of the pusch, a transitional period has begun. At its heart is the decommunization of all spheres of the life of our society. [applause]

This is of course an extremely difficult process, but the destiny of Russia—and in particular, of the process of reunification we have begun—depends on its outcome. I think that much groundwork has already been done to insure that we get through this period and achieve positive results. A mechanism for coordinating political positions and actions among the republics has been set up and is in operation. I have in mind the Novo-Ogareva process. Following the defeat of the reaction, it has been stepped up considerably.

The republics are currently making decisions on their independence, but this in no way signifies that the idea of a union is dead. Our ideas of the union have changed substantially. It will be a genuinely free and voluntary community of sovereign states; it will be formed by sovereign republics that in their own interests will be delegating to the union a narrowly restricted range of functions. The significance of horizontal inter-republican ties which have been dynamically taking shape of late is increasing drastically. In other words, we want the present center with its 60 ministries to be replaced by this new kind of center, and nothing more. [applause]

It will be a center that will, by and large, coordinate the actions of the republics in the interests of the republics, so that in the shortest possible space of time they can set up inter-republican administrative bodies for the most important spheres of the life of the country along new principles: above all, the economy, the armed forces, the nuclear potential, and so on. They will also be coordinating the progress of economic reform in the republics. The republics will also be the chief protagonists in setting up institutions of authority for the new union and determining their spheres of competence, structure and functions. Russia's position is unequivocal: We support a new union, we support a united Russian Federation! [applause] Today, when I met leaders of the republics of the Russian Federation, they all spoke in favor of signing a joint statement that Russia is single and indivisible. [applause]

We advocate that the joining together of republics in a free union of sovereign states be enshrined in a treaty. We have taken the most active part in work on it, and will continue to do so. The failed putsch has strengthened out determination to firmly follow a policy of reforms in the economy, a policy toward a market economy. While the so-called socialist organization of production and distribution remains, the economic base for such coups will also remain. The lesson we have learned is that we must effect the transfer to the market decisively and boldly. [applause] Russia was the first to announce its support for the equality of all forms of ownership, including private ownership. [applause]

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, the most important goal of the Congress of Compatriots was to start a continuous dialogue between Russia and the Russian diaspora in the name of overcoming the deep internal divisions within the Russian people. They have become the victims of, essentially, a most cruel experiment. Millions of people have found themselves outside their homeland. Tens of millions were killed. Figuratively speaking, the heart of the Russian people, its faith and morality, was cut into pieces. The influence of our national culture on mankind's spiritual evolution has dwindled. The unnatural state of division has been maintained for many decades. The atmosphere of mutual enmity has formed over more than one generation and has become something routine and habitual, and this is frightening, of course. But it is clear today that we were separated not from one another but from Russia, from its national values and prospects. The shocks of the past have not only divided us but also have brought us together, made us wiser and more tolerant towards one another. It is important now to find concrete ways of joint activity which would promote our Russia's revival.

Fate willed it that the flower of national intelligentsia found itself beyond Russia's borders—prominent entrepreneurs and industrialists, organizers of production and major specialists. Living in foreign lands, they have preserved their talent and passed it on to their heirs, and have contributed to the glory of the states that have become their second homeland. Addressing you,

esteemed compatriots from abroad, I should like to confirm our readiness for honest cooperation. Remember that among the many states you are dealing with, there is a Russia which is renewing itself. Original ideas and valuable proposals were voiced during the congress' work. Promising contacts have been established. I assure you that, in my capacity of president, I will promote their implementation. While reviving Russia, we have embarked upon the road of overcoming a barbaric attitude to our national sacred places, spiritual values, and monuments of national culture. [applause]

It is with sorrow that our fellow citizens perceive the state of national culture, the ruins of churches that can be seen in almost every town and village. I still cannot think without a shudder about a document I saw about four years ago. The following was written in Kaganovich's hand on the 1936 general map of Moscow: Destroy everything so that there is no whiff of Russian spirit in Moscow. In Moscow alone, 2,200 monuments were destroyed.

Hard work to revive national culture and spirituality has already begun. I want to mention especially the extremely important part being played in this by the Russian Orthodox Church and other denominations and by all believers who are actively involved today in the revival of Russia. I want to state that the church has at last been registered as a legal entity by the RSFSR Justice Ministry. [applause]

I am sure that our aspirations in this noble activity will also meet with a corresponding response in your hearts. For our part, we shall be resolute in removing all obstacles to your participation in it. The process of the spiritual reunification of Russia with Russians abroad is already under way. The Russian spiritual heritage, which was ruined by a senseless ideological struggle, is being restored step by step. Life itself demanded the renunciation of the deadening split of national culture into the reactionary and the progressive, based on the notorious class approach. Much of Russia's culture fiber that was rejected in the past is already returning to our spiritual life. We are highly appreciative of the participation of our compatriots abroad in this process.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, permit me once more to welcome you and express my gratitude to you for responding to my Christmas appeal, in spite of certain problems put in the way even of your arrival here. I think you will all remember these days spent in Russia, and not only for the political events which took place. The program for the Compatriots' Congress was full, fruitful meetings and discussions took place, and many of you managed to visit your homes. We all understand that the process of the revival of our motherland and national unification will not be simple. There will be problems and obstacles ahead, but I am convinced that it is a noble and extremely necessary cause. It is important not just for us, but primarily for our children and descendants. We shall be persistent in

reviving Russia and turning it into a prosperous, law-governed, democratic, and truly free state. We shall be tolerant and kind to each other, and may our efforts benefit Russia and all mankind. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Yeltsin Decree on Internal Affairs Directorate

LD2808211791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2030 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Yeltsin, president of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], has issued a decree on the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the city of Moscow. It says:

1. Regarding the situation that developed and in order to strengthen public order, the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of Moscow is subordinated to the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the mayor of Moscow.

2. Agreement must be reached on the proposal of the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that the chief of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the city of Moscow is entitled to be a member of the Collegium of this ministry. Staffing matters will be decided by agreement with the mayor of Moscow.

This was a decree by RSFSR President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Yeltsin Puts State Bank Under Republic's Control

OW2808120291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1122 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin has given orders under which all currency and financial transactions and transactions with precious stones and metals can be conducted by the USSR Ministry of Finance, State Bank and Bank for Foreign Economic Relations only with the consent of the corresponding Russian agencies.

Russian agencies are getting the entire network of the USSR Ministry of Finance, State Bank and Bank for Foreign Economic Relations. Within a month proposals should be submitted to Yeltsin about the future relationships between the budgets of Russia, the Union and other republics.

Yeltsin also called for assuming control over the customs services in the territory of the Russian Federation. The USSR Customs Committee shall have the right to permit the export of precious stones and metals from Russian territory only with the consent of the Federation's government.

Issues Instruction on Finance

LD2808160291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an instruction according to which all foreign currency finance operations and operations involving precious metals and stones may be carried out by the Ministry of Finances, the State Bank, and the USSR Foreign Economic Bank exclusively with the agreement of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Finance and its central bank and the Foreign Trade Bank. All the material and technical assets of the USSR Ministry of Finance, the State Bank, and the Foreign Economic Bank are transferred to the jurisdiction of these Russian departments. According to the instruction, proposals for the procedure for mutual relations between the budget of Russia and the budgets of the Union and other republics are to be submitted to the Russian president within a month.

Inkcombank Fund To Support Russian Republic

LD2808202691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Inkcombank was among the supporters of the legal Russian government. During the days of the coup, the bank handed over gratis 1 million rubles [R] to the Russian Council of Ministers to buy food for the defenders of the White House. That was a week ago.

Today, Inkcombank has opened an account for the fund in support of the constitution and the Russian fund for the defense of the homeland. The funds received are to go toward the formation of a Russian national guard, toward improving the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs service, and toward the building of a monument dedicated to the defenders of freedom in front of the Russian parliament.

The bank has already set aside funds amounting to millions for the families of those who died and for the Moscow mayoral fund for eliminating the consequences of the coup—up to R10 million in all.

Value of Sealed Moscow CPSU Property Noted

LD2808061291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] In implementation of the decree by the RSFSR president on taking buildings belonging to the Communist Party under protection, the complex of CPSU Central Committee buildings on Staraya Square have been sealed up by the city authorities. Approximately 100 rooms of the president's apparatus and even the presidential cashbox are under lock and key. So, the president is left without his wages.

Yesterday, at a joint meeting of the deputy mayor and the members of the Moscow government and the staff of

the former administration of CPSU Central Committee affairs there was an exchange of opinions on how to use the things that belonged to the CPSU and should now belong to Muscovites. According to preliminary and unchecked data, there are quite a few of these possessions. For example, the value of all the buildings of the Central Committee totals to more than 137 million rubles [R]. The Central Committee of the CPSU has recreation centers in the environs of Moscow. The one in Serebrannyi Bor alone has a value of R2.2 million. All in all, the value of the dachas of the CPSU is R97 million. All the rooms and cottages can now house 1,800 families of invalids, old people, and children at one time now.

All in all, the CPSU Central Committee has in its jurisdiction throughout the country 114 party publishing houses and 81 printing shops. In Moscow it has five publishing houses. The MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA publishing house, under whose auspices MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS is printed, has put approximately R20 million in profits in the Central Committee pocket. All this, as well as cars and trucks and buses will now belong to the Muscovites.

Yeltsin on Improved Social Security for Veterans

OW2808130991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1122 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin has given orders to the Russian cabinet to draft legislation on the social security of servicemen, war veterans and senior citizens as well as on alternative (civil) service for citizens of the Russian Federation.

Already this year the Russian cabinet should work out a housing program for retiring servicemen and their families. Within two months it should discuss additional compensation to servicemen for renting housing at places of their service.

By December 1 the government of Russia is to make proposals on relieving servicemen of taxes in the territory of the Russian Federation.

Report on Trade Union Federation Statement

914A1102B Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by the press service of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia: "Position of the Leaders of the Sectoral Trade Unions of the RSFSR"]

[Text] A state of emergency has illegally been introduced in the USSR. An unconstitutional organ of state power and administration has been created. The activities of state organs, public organizations, and the mass media have been restricted. The streets of Moscow are blocked by tanks.

We decisively protest the anticonstitutional means of resolving the contradictions which have accumulated in society.

At this decisive hour we appeal to trade union organizations and labor collectives to support the legitimate Russian authorities and the nationally elected president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and demand the convention of an emergency USSR Congress of People's Deputies to restore constitutional order in the country.

Justifications for Outlawing Communist Party

PM2808214891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[By Sergey Panasenکو under the "Opinion" rubric: "The CPSU Should Be Outlawed"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decision, which was greeted with applause—to suspend the activity of the Russian Communist Party until its role in the putsch is clarified—nevertheless gives you the impression that it is a half-measure.

There are two main arguments against a complete ban on the Communist Party on Russian territory (and possibly the whole USSR): It is undemocratic and it would unwittingly place millions of ordinary party members, who were not involved in any crimes, in the position of criminals.

On closer inspection, however, neither one reason nor the other stands up to criticism.

It stands to reason that a democratic society cannot and must not fight against *ideas* using methods of gross prohibition and force. From that point of view, it is unlawful to ban citizens from loyalty to communist convictions and from gathering together in a party that defends the communist *idea*.

This is not, however, a question of an abstract idea, but of a specific organization which 74 years ago carried out a coup d'etat and unlawfully usurped power, and has since then run the country with the well-known results. The specific crimes were of course committed by specific people and not by the CPSU as a whole, but the CPSU was the organization that gave these people the power and possibility to operate.

The comparison of the CPSU with the mafia that is being circulated is not so farfetched as many people believe. The mafia is also an organization designed to implement the criminal intentions of the group of its leaders, and therefore, the mafia as a structure is always in an illegal position.

Incidentally, one of the crimes of any mafia-type organization and one of the characteristics of such an organization is the system of involving new members by applying overt or covert pressure: by blackmail and threats, by promising benefits, and by creating a certain

moral, psychological, and social climate. It is easy to see that it was according to this very scheme that the CPSU recruited 90 percent of its members.

Thus we must raise the question not of a ban on the existence of a communist party as such in the USSR and Russia, but on the activity of a specific organization—the CPSU, and of its dissolution. Let the members of this dissolved party who did not commit any crimes form a brand new party if they want to. I seriously doubt whether, in terms of numbers, it will reach even the size of the KGB-inspired Liberal Democratic Party.

This procedure does not have anything to do with the guilt or innocence, as is now being said, of millions of honest workers and ordinary communists. There must obviously be no "witch-hunt." There are historical precedents. In 1945 the NSDAP [German National Socialist Workers' Party]—the fascist national socialist party—was abolished for the role it played in the emergence and support of the Nazi nightmare. This did not at all mean that some kind of criminal or administrative proceedings were automatically instituted against hundreds of thousands of its ordinary members. As for moral responsibility, this is a matter of conscience for each specific person.

The CPSU's contribution to the country's future is very similar to the contribution made by the NSDAP to the future of Germany. Therefore, we have to deal with it in an analogous way.

Yeltsin Meets With Russian Federation Leaders

LD2808190591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1712 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—A meeting between Boris Yeltsin, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president, and leaders of republics within the Russian Federation took place today. The political and economic situation that had taken shape in the country and the republic after the coup d'etat was discussed. Republican leaders expressed their full support for President Boris Yeltsin's actions to restore legality and constitutional order. During the fateful days citizens of all the republics within the RSFSR, by their opposition to the putschists, confirmed their support for the Constitution and legitimate authority created by the free will of Russian citizens.

The Information Department of the RSFSR president reported that participants in the meeting confirmed their common striving for preserving the integrity and unity of the Russian Federation. These are necessary conditions for Russia's joining a union of sovereign states and a guarantee of its political and economic stability. Conditions for concluding a new Union treaty as well as a general strategy of economic and political stabilization were examined from these positions.

Yeltsin Sends Message to UN's Perez de Cuellar

LD2808164391 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sedov]

[Text] Geneva August 28 TASS—Visiting Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Igor Gavrilo met Javier Perez de Cuellar in Geneva to hand over a personal message from Russia's President Boris Yeltsin to the United Nations secretary-general.

According to the Soviet office at the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva, the message described the recent events in the Soviet Union as an attempted unconstitutional coup by conservative forces and stressed the role of Russia's people and leadership in suppressing the reactionary putsch.

Yeltsin stressed in his message the idea of the Russian government's immutable policy of comprehensive cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies which can play a major role in reviving Russia.

Yeltsin voiced the desire for the U.N. secretary-general to facilitate taking into account priority tasks facing Russia when rendering it humanitarian assistance, working out and implementing specialized U.N. programmes of aid to the Soviet Union.

In his conversation with Perez de Cuellar Gavrilo touched upon the possible U.N. action within the framework of the special year of Russia's revival, which could mobilize the world community, and above all millions of Russian people living abroad, in a specific way to stimulate their contribution to pulling Russia out of the grave crisis.

Yeltsin Vows To Hold Talks With Japan on Treaty

OW2808161791 Tokyo KYODO in English 1512 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 28 (KYODO)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday vowed his "utmost efforts" to ensure the acceleration of Soviet-Japan negotiations on a peace treaty, according to Japanese diplomatic officials.

Officials said Yeltsin made the pledge in a 40-minute meeting with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kuni-hiko Saito, who arrived in Moscow on Tuesday for a four-day stay.

The meeting represented the highest-level direct contact between Japan and the Russian Federation since last week's botched coup against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Officials said Yeltsin thanked Japan for its support for the anticoup resistance, particularly Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu's telephone call of encouragement.

Yeltsin was quoted as saying that the principles of justice and fairness were reestablished in the wake of the coup.

The Russian leader reportedly said it is his hope and conviction that the peace treaty process with Japan will be accelerated. He added that he would do his utmost to that end, officials said.

Japan and the Soviet Union have not signed a peace treaty since the end of World War II due to a dispute over four islands off Hokkaido that the Red Army seized at the end of the war.

When President Gorbachev came to Japan in April, he and Kaifu agreed in a document to accelerate the talks on a peace treaty, and the intertwined territorial issue.

The communist hard-liners who briefly seized power from Gorbachev had through their statements condemning claims on Soviet territory created concern that the peace treaty talks might run into difficulties.

Meanwhile, Foreign Ministry officials denied a Western wire service report that Russian Vice Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze had told a Japanese news agency Tuesday that Yeltsin would soften his stance on the territorial issue.

They said Kunadze denied telling the news agency as reported that "it is absolutely not necessary to leave the settlement of the northern territory dispute for the next generation."

Yeltsin has proposed that the territorial issue be resolved in a step-by-step manner, expanding bilateral ties and boosting cooperation in the vicinity of the islands first, while letting a future generation decide on their ultimate disposition.

Officials said that Saito, who has already met with Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, may meet with Gorbachev before leaving Moscow.

Stepanenko on Arrest of 12 for 'High Treason'

LD2808131891 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT
28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Twelve people have been arrested on high-treason charges following last week's military takeover, the Russian republic's prosecutor-general told TASS today.

Valentin Stepanenko also said that members of the Communist Party Central Committee's Secretariat and other ranking Central Committee officials will be interrogated soon in connection with the coup, as will former federal parliament speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov. Lukyanov [as received] will also confront members of the so-called emergency committee.

Asked how the plotters are conducting themselves during interrogations, Stepanenko said: "When giving testimony, each tries to come clean on the activities of his associates, while playing down his own role in every way."

He said there are no grounds for linking the suicides of presidential aide Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev and the Communist Party Central Committee's chief executive officer Nikolay Kruchina with the botched putsch.

Stepanenko added, however, they would have been summoned for interrogation in a day or two, but the two men took their lives without having been served any written or verbal summons for interrogation.

Stepanenko said that the public prosecutor of the Ryazan region, N. Bessonov, and his deputy were relieved of their duties for having connived at the conspiracy. Investigations are under way for similar reasons in nine more Russian regions.

Stepanenko said he is very worried about self-organized groups springing up in a number of regions that often include members of local governing councils and representatives of social organizations, and attempt to carry out their own investigations and confiscate various documents.

"Although these people are possibly motivated by the sincere desire to understand what happened and identify those helping the coupsters, I would like to warn them against attempts at lynching.

"Apart from everything else, their actions can harm official investigations. The confiscation of any documents done contrary to established procedural rules will deprive us of the possibility to use the evidence in court," Stepanenko said.

He stressed: "We cannot bring anyone to criminal responsibility for dissidence. Anyone has the right to share the emergency committee's views, but only those who have actually committed crimes must be punished."

Details Arrests, Interrogations

PM2708150491 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[I. Kadulin, G. Volynets report: "Committee in Jail. The Arrests Continue."]

[Text] We asked Valentin Stepanenko, Russian general prosecutor, how many people have already been arrested in the "State Committee for the State of Emergency case" and where they are.

Those now under arrest are: V. Pavlov, V. Kryuchkov, D. Yazov, O. Shenin, A. Tizyakov, V. Starodubtsev, O. Baklanov; V. Boldin, former chief of the USSR President's Secretariat; V. Varennikov, former commander in chief of the USSR Defense Ministry ground forces; and Yu. Plekhanov, former chief of the USSR KGB guard

service. V. Grushko, former first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, has been detained. The first interrogations have been carried out.

As V. Stepankov explained, all the aforementioned members of the "group of eight" were kept until yesterday "at one of our installations."

The precise location of the "installation" is not mentioned. According to our information, it is outside the city, near a river and woods. The place is quite deserted. During a walk in the woods on Thursday, V. Kryuchkov found two white mushrooms.

Yesterday all the arrested men were transferred to prison detention. The precise location is not known at present.

The general prosecutor reported that it seems that there will soon be an "extensive" press conference on this matter. The investigation is continuing.

RSFSR General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov and special investigator Aleksandr Shchukin questioned Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Kremlin, an RIA correspondent was informed at the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office. Valentin Stepankov said that Anatoliy Lukyanov's testimony was detailed and needs verification.

Ivanenko Comments on KGB Involvement in Coup
*LD2908141191 London BBC Television Network
in English 2130 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Interview with Russian KGB Chairman Major General Viktor Ivanenko by correspondent Mark Urban in Moscow on 28 August; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ivanenko] I feel deep regret and shame about the leadership of the KGB who involved this institution in this crime. We should not forget that the majority of KGB workers are people who sincerely want to help their motherland.

[Urban] Marshal Shaposhnikov has said recently that up to 80 percent of the officers and senior commanders of the Army may have to change as a result of these events. What exactly is going to be the impact on the KGB's structure?

[Ivanenko] I think the changes in the leadership of the KGB will come quickly and will go very deep. I cannot tell you the exact percentage, but I think that most of the leadership of the KGB will be changed within the next few months. [passage omitted]

The government is concerned, we're concerned, because we realize that the food shortages could cause serious social disturbances, and could be used by different political forces to lead the country into even greater destabilization. [passage omitted]

We intend to concentrate and work on intelligence and counterintelligence, the struggle with organized criminals, like the mafia, corruption, and to prevent any anticonstitutional activity. We will also gather information for the power structures and the leadership of Russia.

[Urban] Where do you think the external threat, to Russia, comes from?

[Ivanenko] Without doubt we should reevaluate external threats. I am sure such threats still exist. If before they were threats to the Communist system, they're now real threats to the national interests of Russia.

Kozyrev on Foreign Ministry's Record, Future

*PM2908090891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 3*

[Interview with Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister, by A. Vasilyev; place and date not given: "A. Kozyrev: 'I Feared I Would Be Arrested at the USSR Embassy in Paris'"]

[Text] [Vasilyev] Andrey Vladimirovich, what were you doing on the day of the coup?

[Kozyrev] On the 19th I met with Lukin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, in the "White House." We began to outline the text of an appeal to governments of states and to the United Nations. At the same time, we gave instructions for representatives of foreign embassies and journalists to assemble at the "White House."

At around 1500, the decision to send me abroad arose quite spontaneously, and on the morning of the 20th I flew to Paris. I was told later that I was to have been detained in the VIP lounge at Sheremetyevo-2. The nomenklatura mentality simply did not have an inkling that a minister of foreign affairs could go through customs like an ordinary passenger.

[Vasilyev] What tasks were you given?

[Kozyrev] First, I was to start a campaign abroad in support of the Russian government. Second, there was to be a representative of the Russian leadership there just in case.

[Vasilyev] The Western press reported that you were instructed to form a government in exile.

[Kozyrev] According to international convention, I had the right to do so, but I did not have any precise instructions. Honestly, I did not even think about the candidates or how I was going to accomplish it. The fact is that we believed the junta incapable of holding out for any length of time. I was mistaken: My forecast was seven days. Therefore, I did not even raise this question in official contacts. Moreover, when journalists in Paris

asked me questions about a government in exile, I reacted quite sharply, because to start talking about such a move would have meant showing that Russia's "White House" had already prepared itself for defeat.

[Vasilyev] Many people are now reproaching leaders of Western states, specifically U.S. President G. Bush and French President F. Mitterrand, for being late with a principled reaction to the coup. How can you explain this?

[Kozyrev] Yes, they were approximately one and a half days late with their assessments; there is nothing surprising in that. The State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] was able to organize well foreign policy support for the coup. It was a smart move to compile headquarters directive telegrams containing the theses which our ambassadors were to bring into conversations with the leaders of the countries where they were accredited. Some telegrams were signed by USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh and others by Kvitsinskiy, his first deputy. Our Foreign Ministry, incidentally, tried to send its own telegram, but Kvitsinskiy did not allow it. We are now trying to sort out in detail the events of those days, but a new leadership must be appointed to the Union Foreign Ministry as soon as possible. After all, up to now it has been run by Kvitsinskiy and others, and we cannot rule it out that the rewriting of history is now going on there.

The whole point is that in recent years our ambassadors have perfectly mastered the rhetoric of perestroika. The new thinking has merely skimmed over the surface, but in actual fact it was the same old nomenklatura. Party committees operated in all embassies. The USSR Foreign Ministry effectively remained the CPSU's diplomatic detachment. They did not understand this in the West. Just imagine a Western leader being visited by a respectable Soviet ambassador. For five years this ambassador has been muttering fairly convincingly about new thinking, and now he says that the SCSE is the USSR's internal affair and will not affect its foreign policy in any way.

[Vasilyev] In fact, there were ambassadors who refused to carry out the center's directives.

[Kozyrev] Only a handful. I personally know only of USSR Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has written about this.

There was another category: those who adopted a sullen position. They read out—like the "Vremya" program—everything they had to, but by their whole demeanor they showed that they did not approve of it...

Incidentally, the central apparatus of the Foreign Ministry also had its own brand of uprisings; for example, Agayev, department chief in my own former administration—the International Organizations Administration—wrote a letter to the ministry's leadership in which he condemned the coup. They say that he was even at the barricades.

Yet most ambassadors supported the SCSE. The Foreign Ministry received telegrams from them in which some of them even urged that the Russian leadership be finished off as quickly as possible. The most odious telegram arrived from USSR Ambassador to Germany Terekhov.

[Vasilyev] Did you communicate with our ambassadors during your trip?

[Kozyrev] No. First, from conversations with the French I knew that Dubinin, our ambassador to France, was actively explaining the policies of the SCSE. Second, I was not met by anyone at all there, although all the mass media had trumpeted my arrival. Yet incidentally, besides being a Russian minister I also hold the rank of ambassador of the Soviet Union, and, most importantly, I feared I would be arrested at the embassy. I assumed this could occur because I knew both the ambassador and certain diplomats working there. After all, an embassy is a powerful organization where dozens of people work. It is USSR territory, and the French cannot enter it. Had I gone to the embassy, I could have fallen into a trap.

[Vasilyev] How did your conversations with French representatives go?

[Kozyrev] They took the hint from me. It was clear to them that the information they were receiving through official channels was completely one-sided. In general, the turning point in Western diplomatic circles had definitively occurred by 20 August. It helped that France is simultaneously a member of both the EC and NATO, where the mechanism is such that if you take your information to Paris, it is immediately known in the capitals of the 12 EC members and the 16 NATO members. I managed to see to it that to all intents and purposes, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas delivered our theses. I had an important meeting in the U.S. Embassy in Paris.

Apart from contacts with official representatives, the Russian "White House" gave me the task of fully utilizing Western mass media in order to influence public opinion. So, by day I was working on European media, and by night—taking account of the time difference—on U.S. media.

What also played a big role was that on the morning of 19 August we invited to the "White House" diplomats accredited in Moscow who then sent reports to their governments. And, of course, Yeltsin's "telephone diplomacy" was of great importance.

[Vasilyev] Andrey Vladimirovich, let us imagine that Yanayev had held on to power. Do you think that in the end the West would have entered into contact with him?

[Kozyrev] Of course, they would. There is a regularity in relations between major powers. Then let us say frankly that in our history, there have been rulers even worse than Yanayev, and yet diplomatic relations existed. But I want to stress that had the junta remained in power, we

would have encountered merely fear and contempt in the international arena. NATO would have once again become hostile toward us, and its zone of responsibility would have advanced toward our western borders. After all, East European countries are afraid of the USSR to this day. The so-called "Kvitsinskiy doctrine" stipulated that our bilateral relations must contain a point prohibiting our neighbors from entering into alliances hostile to the USSR. This means that we have not trusted them to this day and that we are still suspicious of them to this day.

[Vasilyev] It is obvious that now Western aid to Russia and the Soviet Union will increase. But the West and above all the United States have accompanied the granting of this aid with increased pressure on such questions as our aid to Cuba and Afghanistan, and also on the the "northern territories" problem. Is the Russian leadership prepared to resist this pressure?

[Kozyrev] First of all, I want to say to the West: Thank you very much for applying this pressure. We have long needed to cut economic aid to Afghanistan and Cuba and to end military aid altogether.

Everything has long been ready for settlement in Afghanistan—only our support of Najibullah has prevented it. Najibullah is a symbol—because he ran state security during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. You will never prove to anyone that Beria could change, because he is also a symbol. By supporting extremist forces in Kabul, we are also creating a foundation for extremists in opposition. Remove Najibullah, and the extremists in Peshawar will also go. Then moderate political forces from both sides will agree among themselves. If the mujahidin take Kabul by force, however, then there will be an extremist regime along our borders.

[Vasilyev] Do you understand that ending aid to Cuba will mean the end of Fidel Castro?

[Kozyrev] I like Cuba very much and wish it the same as I wish Russia: free elections. If Castro wins, I will applaud. If someone else wins, I will applaud that person. The people must choose their leaders for themselves.

[Vasilyev] Do you maintain contacts with the Cuban opposition?

[Kozyrev] Not at the moment, but we are open for contacts with those who are for free elections.

[Vasilyev] Is the Russian leadership prepared to make concessions to Japan on the "northern territories" question?

[Kozyrev] This is a special problem which requires in-depth discussion. We must, however, move away from cast-iron positions—after all, these were the positions held by people like Yazov and Akhromeyev.

[Vasilyev] Andrey Vladimirovich, how do you see the future of the USSR Foreign Ministry in the light of the events that have taken place?

[Kozyrev] Some 70-80 percent of Foreign Ministry staffers are good professionals. There must be no excesses here. The rest—mainly the rotten bosses—must go. A structural perestroika of the ministry is needed. The Union Foreign Ministry—that huge monster—is no longer needed in its previous form. It must change into an organ coordinating the foreign policy of independent republics.

Furthermore, political reform is needed. The coup showed that Western democracies with market economies are our loyal allies and friends. We must stop dealing with the EC and NATO from positions of party ideology. We used to say: "They are not so bad as we thought." In fact, that is what we now need. They are mechanisms of stability to which we must belong. We will not, of course, be accepted there at the moment, because our democracy is still weak. In order to join the company of bachelors, however, one must graduate from the university. We must travel the route that Spain, Portugal, and Greece did: from dictatorial regimes to democracy. They too had transitional periods, and gradually they fully realized their need for democracy. In so doing, they raised the standard of living and lost neither state nor ethnic characteristics.

Discusses Failure of Coup

PM2708144091 Paris LE FIGARO in French
23 Aug 91 p 7

[Interview with Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister, by Veziane de Vezins; place and date not given]

[Text] [De Vezins] What will happen now? Will the putschists be punished in an exemplary way, as some people have demanded?

[Kozyrev] I am not a judge. Impartial courts will pass judgment. The main thing is not to resort to summary procedures. The courts will not only judge the six or eight authors of the putsch, but they will also have to determine the social and political origins of this hopeless coup.

[De Vezins] Is this a triumph for Gorbachev or Boris Yeltsin?

[Kozyrev] It is a triumph for democracy. It would be a mistake for the West to return to a policy of giving aid to Gorbachev, a policy based on the personality cult. But the idea is not for Yeltsin to replace Gorbachev. The question is: What must we do to consolidate democracy's victory? The strength of Yeltsin and Gorbachev lies less in their personality than in the fact that they were democratically elected.

[De Vezins] Why would it be a mistake for the Western countries to help Gorbachev?

[Kozyrev] Imagine that Yanayev had not been an obscure politician, but an intelligent, well-spoken young man. Would that have helped the coup d'etat abroad? The Western countries must resist the attraction of peronality. If some people regard Yeltsin as a populist, I am in favor of populism to the extent that it reflects democratic elections. If populism consists of bringing thousands of people into the streets to resist dictatorship, then I am a populist.

[De Vezins] What political future do Gorbachev and Yeltsin have? Is it the end for one and the beginning for the other?

[Kozyrev] The people must decide that in elections.

[De Vezins] What will the new government look like? Will Yeltsin become the supreme leader?

[Kozyrev] Yeltsin will not be the head of the Union, because if he were he would no longer be Yeltsin. He is the leader of the Russian state, elected by the people. We will not have a head of state elected by the army—we know what that is and we no longer want it.

[De Vezins] When you first passed through Paris two days ago, you seemed rather worried, but confident. Did you have information that the solution would come so quickly?

[Kozyrev] Of course I was worried about the fate of my friends. But I was and am confident in a democratic future for Russia in the near, the immediate future. I had been given full powers for the formation of a government in exile, but I thought that Yeltsin, elected by the people a month ago, would continue to be supported by the people.

Forming a Government Enjoying Confidence

[De Vezins] What are your immediate priorities now?

[Kozyrev] Securing the formation of a responsible government with people who did not collaborate with the junta. Forming a government enjoying national confidence at the federal level. We are counting on the West's aid and support.

Second, and this is a crucial task, free elections will have to be organized. But they must come after the formation of a government enjoying confidence, which will include Gorbachev because he is the legal president.

[De Vezins] How do you now view your country's relations with the West?

[Kozyrev] I hope that they will be based on realism. This means that lessons must be learned from this coup d'etat. There must be a move from the euphoria generated by the fact that the USSR is no longer the evil empire to moral and political pressure and practical aid for the forces and programs which aim to transform that evil empire into a normal country operating on the basis of a

market economy. This is a more difficult task than the simplistic question of how to help Gorbachev himself.

Kozyrev Meets With Hungarian Prime Minister

*LD2908111291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2130 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Kuklin]

[Text] Budapest, 29 Aug (TASS)—The second day of the visit by Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic minister of foreign affairs, to the Hungarian Republic has ended. The head of the Russian diplomatic service was received by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. He recalled a telephone conversation with Boris Yeltsin that took place during the critical hours of the coup in the USSR and gave a high appraisal of the Russian president's role in thwarting the attempt at a coup d'etat in the USSR.

The head of the Hungarian Government stressed that, while taking into consideration the traditions of Hungarian-Russian relations, it is necessary to switch relations between Russia and Hungary onto a new basis. These relations are determined by the desire of the peoples of Hungary and Russia for freedom and democracy. "Hungary was in the forefront during the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Where possible, it has come out in favor of the speediest withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory," J. Antall pointed out. He noted the special significance for Hungary of the independence of the Baltic republics inasmuch as they were deprived of their sovereignty as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which Hungary does not recognize. At present, Hungary is re-establishing its diplomatic relations with these republics, he pointed out.

J. Antall stressed that the Hungarian Government has never identified political regimes with peoples. He recalled his statements that if the Hungarian people are freed from their handcuffs, then they should extend the right hand of friendship to the Russian people. In our view, this time has now come, Antall stressed.

The head of the Hungarian Government proposed that the problems of current economic mutual relations between Hungary and the USSR should be settled "in one package." This would enable the path for the transition of relations to new market channels to be opened, he noted.

For his part, Kozyrev stressed that Russia considers the democratic governments of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as its natural partners. A most important task for today is the stabilization of the whole Soviet Union and its individual republics, a move that could be facilitated by the conclusion of a Russian-Hungarian treaty. By naming individually the political problems that have existed until now, it is necessary to clear the way to concentrating on solving economic problems. That is why the USSR's interference in the Hungarian

events of 1956 must be condemned. It is also necessary to acknowledge that the Baltic states were victims of annexation.

The Russian foreign minister stressed that, whatever the destiny of the new Union treaty is, the republics of the USSR should acknowledge the principles of the Helsinki Final Act in relation to both the external and internal bodies of the country. Russia will only be a part of a union that will maintain close, friendly relations with the democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, including Hungary, he noted.

Antall handed the Russian Foreign Minister his note in reply to Yeltsin, in which he expresses confidence that the victory of the democratic forces in the USSR is opening up new prospects for bilateral cooperation. In his note, Antall reaffirms his invitation to Yeltsin to pay an official visit to Hungary.

Views Recognition of Baltics, Ukraine

LD2808221191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1805 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Russian politicians are now having their voices heard all the more, and after all, we are talking about the leaders of the biggest republic. Their foreign minister was in Budapest and Julia Torda interviewed him.

[Begin Andrey Kozyrev recording, in Russian fading into Hungarian translation] What does it specifically mean that we have recognized the independence of the Baltic republics? First of all, we have no territorial demands whatsoever against the Baltic republics, said Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister. Thus, in the Baltics, the presently valid state borders are to become state boundaries between the republics and Russia.

As regards diplomatic representation, yes, we are also to open embassies soon in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. However, with other republics gaining their independence, for example, the Ukraine, first of all, we have to settle our territorial disputes. The Russian government only considers peaceful solutions, that is, negotiations, acceptable. [end recording]

Fedorov Cited on Instructions to Embassies

LD2808191291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Andrey Fedorov, in a press interview, described what the top officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry were doing in the days of the putsch.

He said that at the order of the former Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, all the embassies received a text of the statements made by the junta and were told to ask the leaders in the countries to recognize the State Committee on the State of Emergency.

The ambassadors in Great Britain, Ireland, Poland, and the Federal Republic of Germany stressed the alleged constitutional character of the coup. According to Andrey Fedorov, in more than 20 embassies pictures of Mikhail Gorbachev were taken down on 19th August and put up again on the 22d.

Deputy Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy prohibited sending telegrams to Soviet institutions abroad from the Russian leadership.

Foreign Ministry Official on 'New Situation'

OW2708175591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin pays great attention to the process of working out Russia's foreign-policy priorities, a prominent member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told IF [INTERFAX]. The key issue now is the problem of the Soviet Union's future, he said. According to him, independence proclaimed by the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, and Kazakhstan places Russia's Foreign Ministry in a qualitatively new situation. Under the circumstances to speak about the Union's foreign policy is more than problematic. As for Russia's foreign policy, it will depend to a great extent on Russia's status, on whether Russia remains part of the Union or becomes an independent state.

When asked who might become the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry, the diplomat refrained from answering. According to him, Eduard Shevardnadze has been mentioned as a possible candidate more often than others. The possible candidates include the present Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, the Soviet Ambassador to the UN Yuliy Vorontsov, and other prominent diplomats. According to the spokesman, this is a crucial issue, and if E. Shevardnadze officially declines to accept this post, the process of choosing the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry will become much speedier.

When asked about the order of visits abroad to be paid by Russia's President, the Russian Foreign Ministry official said that B. Yeltsin will visit European countries first of all. Relations with Europe are given top-priority importance in Russia's foreign policy, he said.

Rutskoy, Delegation To Attend Ukraine Meeting

OW2808121291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1122 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the House of the Union of the Soviet national parliament Ivan Laptev has told MPs [members of parliament] that due to the "extraordinary political situation" the Vice-President of Russia

Aleksandr Rutskoy and state adviser of the Russian Federation Sergey Stankevich have left for the Ukraine. The presidents of the USSR, Russia and the Ukraine have been informed about the mission.

Laptev suggested sending a delegation of the national parliament consisting of Yuriy Ryzhov, Anatoliy Sobchak, Sergey Ryabchenko and Yuriy Shcherbak to the Ukraine.

The delegation will attend a session of the presidium of the Ukrainian parliament in Kiev.

The chairman of the House of Nationalities Rafik Nischanov said that the purpose of the mission is to try to settle the differences that have emerged over the past few days between Russia and the Ukraine following the declaration of independence by the Ukrainian parliament, the announcement of Russia about possible territorial claims to bordering "runaway" republics and the decision of the Ukrainian parliament to assume control over all the armed forces in the territory of the republic.

Estonia's Ruutel Meets Foreign Embassy Officials

LD2608143291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet, today arrived in Moscow on a working visit. He has had meetings with Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian parliament and with the ambassadors of Great Britain and Australia, as well as with U.S. Embassy representative. Issues of interstate relations between Estonia and Great Britain, Australia, the United States, and Russia were at the center of talks.

Article Assesses Republic's New Significance

PM2808212291 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy article under the "Commentaries" rubric: "Rising From Its Knees"]

[Text] Time is passing quickly these days. The Kremlin putsch is already history, although not all of its active participants have yet been exposed or named. But in principle all this is already history, it belongs to the past. It is far more important to examine the present and see in it the immediate and distant future both of the Union and of Russia, and the basic development of the organism that, until quite recently, comprised one-sixth of the earth's land surface. The determining, main, and basic factor here is not about which all the country's mass media are excitedly writing and speaking (the putsch, communism, the leaders' personal responsibility, and so on), but a completely different one that is not even being mentioned yet at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet; the West, which is sympathizing with us, has not yet realized its significance either. I am thinking of the entry on the USSR's political

scene, and that of the world community in the near future, of a powerful new protagonist—the Russian Federation.

On 10 July 1991, in his inaugural speech when he assumed office as RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president, Boris Yeltsin said: "Great Russia is rising from its knees!" The recognized leader of nations expressed our common hopes. He, as indeed all of us, could hardly have supposed, however, that this prophecy would come true in August and would be the result of the most profound dramatic events since 1941-1945.

The civilized West was with us during these days. Even on 19 August, U.S. senators demanded that G. Bush, who at first displayed a certain amount of caution in assessing events, support Yeltsin and his fight against the putschists. Today's analysis of Western publications for those three great August days shows that from the first hours of resistance to the putsch, the West fully realized that he was guided not just by the desire to restore Gorbachev to his presidential post, but (I quote the BBC), "the desire to defend the Constitution against military diktat recalling Stalinist times."

I would, nevertheless, not overestimate this role, which is sometimes what we tend to do. The editorial column of the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM of 23 August notes that the West played "a great role in wrecking the plotters' plan." I think that even the plotters themselves would not agree to such an assessment. On the whole, Kryuchkov did not give a damn what the West would say.

The West needed those three days in August to realize finally that Boris Yeltsin is not a populist, but a leader of nations and that it is not the mob that stands behind him, but the people. On the whole, you can understand this. Amid the aura of the personality of the genius of perestroika, it was difficult to make out the powerful deep social and political processes that were growing in the depths of the largest USSR republic. The fact that even now the West still tries to examine events in light of Gorbachev-Yeltsin, evokes, however, a certain feeling of regret: "The failure of the coup means the end of the Gorbachev era and the beginning of the Yeltsin era" (United States); "Gorbachev was a symbol of the changeover of power in the USSR, while Yeltsin is accompanied by a change in the actual system" (FRG), and so on.

Yes, it has indeed now become clear to everyone that the Yeltsin of October 1987, when, addressing the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, he spoke out against the very existence of a CPSU party nomenklatura, and the Yeltsin of August 1991, are one and the same person. This is a man, who back in 1981 at the 26th CPSU Congress, stated that justice and legality are far from being empty words for him. But the issue here is not at all one of confrontation between these two politicians, nor is Yeltsin the issue. The point is that during these three days of August, he took a leap forward that cost him

personally a great deal; he led Russia out of a 74-year-long lethargic sleep and he presented it in all its aspects, both good and negative, to all the peoples of the USSR, the union republics, and the world community. The word "Soviet" went out of the vocabulary. It was replaced by the word "Russian" as applied to Russia. And this came as a surprise to many people. On 26 August, Western observers had already started saying in their commentaries that Gorbachev is now needed to counterbalance Yeltsin, that Yeltsin and his team are taking too much upon themselves by appropriating to Russia Union structures—powerful ministries, mass media, and so on.

This is incomprehensible. What exactly is the issue here? After all, almost all the union republics have declared that everything that is on their territory is their property. I am not even speaking about the Baltic republics. I mean Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, and others. The Russian leadership was the first to recognize the legitimacy of these claims. Why is it impermissible for Russia to do what others have already done before?

I think that political atavism is manifesting itself here: The usual fear of the communist monster, the USSR, is now unwittingly being transferred to the RSFSR. The West, which for decades predicted the disintegration of the Soviet Union and appealed for it, is now hesitating when observing this very process of the Union republics acquiring political autonomy, because it is so unusual.

In fact, it is not a question of the danger the West sees here (and not only the West, but also certain leaders of Union republics, as the course of the 26 August extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has shown), but of the beginning of the development of a new quality in the former Soviet Union. The Union republics are taking their autonomy into their own hands; and if they continue to unite in the future in some form (I think this will be obligatory), then not a single republic will be able to count on living off subsidies from the Union center any more or be able to develop on the basis of another's resources. Everyone will have to get used to this: Russia, Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasus, and the Central Asian Republics, and all the others. This is what many people find unusual today, as the aforesaid USSR Supreme Soviet session has shown.

By all accounts, the Union treaty will probably not exist in its previous form, and there will probably not be any nationwide elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet or for USSR president either. These structures will exist, but they will most likely not be elected by means of direct nationwide elections; they will be formed by the parliaments of republics that will be in the new Union. Most probably all these autonomous republic parliaments will reach agreement on a USSR president.

Judging by two days of work of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Union parliament cannot understand the new quality of the political situation either. Debates at this session are carrying on along

the old lines: a bit of accounting for behavior in the days of the putsch, an outburst of emotion about what was experienced, criticism of Union structures—but not a word about what the republics think about the qualitatively new situation in which we have all found ourselves or how to cope with it and what to do in the short and long term. I would like to hope that the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, which will meet next Monday, will rise to the requirements of the present historic time.

Coup Victims Eulogized at Moscow Rally

914B0332A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91
Union Edition pp 1, 3

[By V. Kononov, E. Maksimova, and L. Savelyeva:
"The Farewell—Boris Yeltsin: Forgive Me as I Was
Unable To Protect and Guard Your Sons"]

[Text] In life they did not meet—Vladimir Usov, Dmitriy Komar, Ilya Krichevskiy. They came together in death. It was death that united the three young Muscovites and united us, the citizens standing on Manezhnaya Square and along the entire funeral route from the Vagankovskaya Cemetery. Our tears and our hopes were as one.

Who was the last person that was so sincerely mourned in Moscow! Whose final farewell was so sorrowful! When, of their own free will, did so many hundreds of thousands gather for a funeral procession!

Not long ago no one knew these three young men except for their parents and friends. Now their names are known throughout the world. It is not only the motherland that is burying them, but all honest people in the world. They have become a tragic symbol of fearless and selfless resistance against violence. They fell as victims... We know who they are and what they are. But will it come to pass that their sacrifice was in vain?

The answers to this question are now very important for each and everyone of us.

These are the main things that were said on 24 August from the funeral dais on Manezhnaya Square and what we managed to record.

M. Zaslavskiy:

In addition to my words of farewell I would like also to say something very simple: This kind of thing must not be repeated. Let us pray now.

G. Popov:

We Muscovites have many privileges: We can visit the Kremlin, watch performances in the Bolshoi Theater, visit the Tretyakovskaya. But we also have great responsibilities. These days, Muscovites have used up all their "coupons" and risen up in defense of the city in the Russian style, ready even to give their lives... These three deceased all knew what they hated and for what they were fighting. Chance is rare in history... But always after

a victory, Moscow has taken up the hammer and the axe to rebuild. Now we hold everything in our hands. We must revive and rebuild life. For these three there is glory. For us, immediate labor.

A. Rutskoy:

Today the whole world is accompanying these three fighters for democracy on their final journey. We must all understand that if a man wants to live in a free and caring way so that his conscience does not trouble him, he must act as these young men acted. We bow low before the parents who raised such sons. Eternal glory to them!

M. Gorbachev:

As I gaze at these young faces it is difficult to speak. But permit me not only for myself but also on your behalf and on behalf of the entire country and of all Russians to bow low before those who gave their lives by standing in the path of those who wanted to throw the country back to the dark times of totalitarianism, push it into an abyss, and bring it to bloody war. I thank their parents. That is the only thing we can say at this time. In honor of the memory of these young people we all consider ourselves bound to continue along the chosen path and move more rapidly onto the highway of normal development and making improvements in life, hard though it may be. There will be no forgiveness for those who carried out the putsch. I have this day signed a ukase posthumously awarding Dmitriy Komar, Ilya Krichevskiy, and Vladimir Usov the title Hero of the Soviet Union. We are accompanying these true citizens on their final journey. They did everything that they were able to do.

Ye. Bonner:

These three days have not been days or hours but epochs through which we have traveled a long and incredible road. I am an old person and I have nothing to say except words of consolation for the parents of these young men. We must promise them that their sons did not give their lives in vain. All of us together, the entire country, must prohibit those whom we elect to the leadership of the state from confusing concepts and confusing us. The army must raise soldiers, not killers. When we say this we are not setting the army against the people. If we say that the CPSU should be held responsible for the state of the country, this does not mean that we are demanding that millions of honest workers be held accountable. We must learn to think for ourselves, and become citizens. Some 132 years ago Abraham Lincoln opened a cemetery for the victims of the civil war. And they buried there those who had fought for freedom along with those who were for slavery. We must not forget that the young men who serve in our army and in the special forces and the special-purpose detachments are also our young men. We have to learn a great deal—true humanity, devotion to freedom and democracy. I want to say to my generation, to people who lived through the war, that they

should not yearn for order. The kind of order that is *Ordnung*—a favorite word of the SS. Order is freedom and democracy.

E. Bickauskas:

These three defended not only the parliament of Russia but also the parliament of Lithuania. We are aware that there can be no free Lithuania without a free Russia. You have given your lives for your freedom and for ours.

A. Karpenko:

While we Afghan veterans are alive we shall do everything to prevent the further spilling of blood.

O, people, be aware, care!

Learn to defend yourselves!

A. Ismailov:

Victory has been gained at the cost of your lives... We, the Afghan veterans, have arrived. Your deaths gave us the strength... Sleep in peace. We are victorious. Farewell! **Father Vyacheslav Polosin:**

During the night of the assault on the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksey II excommunicated all those involved in the violent coup. The people will carry forever the memory of their fallen sons, for "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends..."

Rabbi Z. Kogan:

You have saved Russia and democracy and hope. I shall read a funeral prayer for all those who died...

I. Chevuk:

Moldova mourns these young men. It is painful, very painful... But believe us, young men, we shall always remember you.

R. Strauss, ambassador of the United States to the USSR:

I address you in the name of President Bush. More than 200 years ago one of our great patriots turned to God and asked this: "Give us freedom or give us death." Since that time many Americans who have had to make that choice have made the great sacrifice. Like these young men. The justice of their cause shall not diminish the general sorrow. For a week the American people have together with you been experiencing the shock, and followed with delight the defense of the White House and every that it symbolizes. We share your sorrow and we mourn the price that had to be paid for this just cause.

A. Kozyrev, RSFSR foreign minister:

The entire world has followed the heroism of those who stood here even to the death. Now we have earned the right to return to the family of civilized peoples. For seventy years and more millions of people have been

sacrificed on the altar of a militarized power. Today we have the opportunity to build a great world power. Now we have learned who our true friends are. They are the democratic countries of the West and the East. Russian diplomacy will no longer be the diplomatic arm of the CPSU, which creates a cover for the armed punitive detachments of the CPSU. In our Ministry of Foreign Affairs we have announced an Ilya Krichevskiy competition for the best foreign policy ideas. Hence and henceforth and from these names there will be a new policy of peace of a new peaceful state.

The voices from the dais were carried across the square where tens of thousands of people had gathered. Among them, of course, were first and foremost those who had been there on that night along with the deceased. They seek out and find each other, like veterans of the front from the various regiments: the "25th detachment," the "White Carnation Detachment," the "7th Hundreds"—here and there the inscriptions flash on the shields. The flowers, the funereal arm bands, the sorrow and the grief on the faces. What are the people on the square thinking now, what are their feelings?

D. Zagrebayev, driver with the No. 33 motor pool:

I am 55 years old and I also have had my quarrels with young people: many of them are hooligans and idlers. But these young people gave a good account of themselves. I have been involved in politics for some years; I have been to all the Moscow democratic meetings. And of course, I spent the three days at the White House. I happened to see the young men when they were still alive. But I also know many, many other young people who were at the barricades beside me. Any one of them could have been killed. They knew this, and they were ready.

Ye. Zlotnikova, chief scientific associate at the Radio Scientific Research Institute:

I was at home that night and it was terrible for me. But they were not afraid. Unarmed, they saved Russia from the dark forces. They died for my children and I must bid them farewell.

A. Akhmedov, former teacher at the Azerbaijan Economics Institute, member of the People's Front of Azerbaijan:

I came to Moscow as soon as the coup started. There was an information blackout in Baku and the People's Front of Azerbaijan sent me to establish contact with the resistance forces and to take part in the defense of democracy. This is our common struggle. It is a continuation of the bloody events in Baku and in Vilnius, where I also was in January. And the three young men who we are burying today died for the same thing for which people gave their lives in other republics. So it is a common victory for us. But not the final victory. I hope that the Russian democrats will have strength and

wisdom enough not to give in to euphoria but still hold out against the neo-Bolshevik methods used by their enemies.

M. Burkov, student at the Voronezh Agricultural Institute:

I came to say my farewells to the dead Muscovites and to express on behalf of my friends in Voronezh their gratitude to all those who saved the country. We want people here in Moscow to know that the whole country stands behind them.

I. Petrenko, construction engineer:

Their heroism lies not in the fact that they died. It lies in the fact that they came here that night to defend us and the country. Anyone can die, death is always by chance. But each person makes a conscious choice.

I. Lobov, serviceman:

Tbilisi, Vilnius, Moscow... Everywhere blood, everywhere the army involved, an army made up of the same kind of young men as those whom we are burying today. Only democracy, only the law—these are our salvation.

S. Ruzov, worker:

I came here today because I am guilty before these dead men. They came here that night and did not return. I did not come... Not because I was afraid, I was simply indifferent. That night awakened many people. Today indifference is also a crime.

A. Nezhniy, writer:

When at about 0400 hours on the night of 20-21 August I heard on the radio that the White House of Russia had announced that special troops of state security were beginning an assault on the building, I thought that many of us would not escape the night without becoming victims of fate. A sea of blood was pouring across our land, but it had to be that our common, ecumenical, as they would have said in the old days, sin was so great that it could never be forgiven or pardoned. And our repentance was probably inadequate, and He who knows all things and who knows our innermost thoughts, saw that truth and suffering and understanding had still not taken possession of our hearts. Our cup was not yet full, and we still had to drink from it.

I did not know, could not know, at that hour that I did not need a gas mask, that the tape on my tape recorder was recording not shots but the imperturbable and rich snoring of one of the Russian deputies, and that the atonement was over, that the last sacrifice had already been made. And that out of the thousands and thousands of people who with a good will stood blocking the path of violence and lies and were prepared to die for freedom, three had already been chosen. Three candles were extinguished, three lives snuffed out. And I believe with all my heart and soul and with all my strength, that they were the purest and most beautiful from among us, and

that up there in Heaven they are now saying: The full measure has been paid for Russia, enough, Lord, enough blood, enough suffering, enough grief.

From Manezhnaya Square the funeral procession moved toward the White House, to the place where the tragedy occurred, where President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin said his farewells to the dead.

The president of Russia said:

Dear relatives and close ones of Dmitriy Komar, Vladimir Usov, and Ilya Krichevskiy, we are saying our farewells to your sons, our heroes, our defenders, our saviors. But we shall not be saying farewell to their names. These will be sacred to Russia and to the country. On that Monday of 19 August the hearts of millions of mothers and fathers flinched because previously other young people had thrown themselves into the defense of democracy and Russia and its parliament. For three days tens of thousands of people stood their dangerous watch...It was a plot primarily against Russia and everything that it has raised up—Moscow, Leningrad, the Kuzbass, the Urals. The young men died by the walls of their home. I bow low before the parents of Dmitriy and Volodya and Ilya...And forgive me that I was unable to protect and guard your sons. Today, on this day of national mourning, we understand that we must and can act more energetically in the future. The road has been cleared, and they helped us to do this. But it could have been worse, much worse...Rest in peace, let the earth be your pillow.

The burials took place at the Vagankovskaya Cemetery.

Commentary on Alksnis' Speech to Supreme Soviet

LD2808124591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Sergey Pustovoyt commentary]

[Text] The extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continues its work in Moscow. A speech made by Colonel Alksnis, abettor of state criminals—members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency—the live broadcast of which took place 30 minutes ago, is an insult to the whole world public. He was one of the first to have supported the putschists' illegal activities. Instead of being kept in a prison cell now, he is trying to justify the activities of state criminals from the tribunal of the Supreme Soviet. I think that the decision on this issue will be made by investigative bodies.

Supreme Soviet Chairmen Support Union Treaty

LD2908105391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president's information department has issued a statement by the chairmen of the republics' Supreme

Soviets who comprise the Russian Federation. The document stresses that these republics are in favor of preserving the Russian Federation as a single and indivisible state which has been illuminated by centuries of traditions and a glorious history of a single, multinational family of peoples. We consider it necessary, the statement says, to adopt extraordinary measures to stabilize the political situation in the country, the basis of which can only be a Union treaty, finally worked out by taking into consideration the situation which has evolved.

The chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the republics comprising the Russian Federation state that a Union treaty should be signed on behalf of the RSFSR by a single Russian Federation. The authors of the statement call for the unification and cohesion of the peoples of all the republics of the Soviet Union.

The document was signed by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Karelian Autonomous SSR, Yakut-Sakha SSR, Udmurt Republic, Kalmyk SSR, Dagestan SSR, Komi SSR, Bashkir SSR, Mordovan SSR, and Mari SSR.

Moscow Mayor Signs Cooperation Accord in Berlin

LD2908035391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov has completed a visit to Berlin. A treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed between the German and Soviet capitals. The cities intend to exchange experience and knowledge in all fields of urban administration, especially in labor, economics and the conservation of the environment.

Reportage on Popov's Visit to Germany

WA2908140491

For German reportage on the visit by Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov to Germany, including reports on his talks with Berlin's Governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen and the signing of a Berlin-Moscow friendship agreement, see the Germany section of the 28 August West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Moscow District Head Resigns From Party

PM2808112191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Have You Heard About It? Have You Read About It?"]

[Text] Aleksey Bryachikhin, member of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and prefect of Moscow's Western Administrative District, made a statement to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY on 22 August about his withdrawal from the

party organ. The attempted coup d'etat has essentially turned the CPSU into an anticonstitutional organization.

New Moscow Militia Chief Still Not in Office

*PM2808113191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 3*

[G. Volynets report: "38, Petrovka Street: Were They Not Expecting It?"]

[Text] As is known, on 23 January of this quickly passing year, the Moscow City Soviet session appointed V. Komissarov as chief of Moscow's Internal Affairs Main Administration. Thanks to Pugo's efforts, however, this appointment did not take place at that time.

Two days ago the extraordinary session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet confirmed V. Komissarov's post. Yesterday morning, the new chief was to have been presented to the Internal Affairs Main Administration personnel. In the words of Vyacheslav Sergeyevich himself, however, the position of Vice Mayor Yu. Luzhkov and General N. Myrikov, who still remains in power at Petrovka Street [Moscow militia headquarters], meant that the "presentation" did not take place.

However, the order to appoint V. Komissarov dates back to 6 April. "Pugo offered me various posts several times during that time, including chief of a Union Ministry Main Administration. However, my position remains resolute: The deputies voted in support of my appointment, and I cannot let them down," the major general said.

According to his former colleagues, Vyacheslav Sergeyevich is a true militiaman. He is unpretentious, sometimes very abrupt, and has a serious and fairly complicated character.

So the question apparently still remains open. I write "still" because I see two presidents on the television removing ministers one after the other.

Sobchak Sees Chaos if Union Disintegrates

*OW2808115691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1122 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, "the USSR is falling apart and the old imperial structure will disappear." "If this disintegration is going to be uncontrollable, we are on the verge of chaos," he told newsmen on Tuesday.

Anatoliy Sobchak said he supports President Gorbachev today not because the president favors the Union.

"We were the first ones to advocate the sovereignty of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Sobchak said, but we also fought for defining the conditions for departure from the Union."

He also said that the statement made on behalf of Boris Yeltsin by his press secretary Pavel Voshchanov was misinterpreted. According to Sobchak, it was meant that Russia does not have problems with those who remain in the Union or those with whom Russia has signed treaties, for example, the Baltic republics. The borders arbitrarily drawn by the Soviet Government should be revised with those who are leaving without agreement. Under the Soviet Government, Sobchak said, part of Russian territory was given to other republics.

Smolensk Nuclear Workers Want Chief's Dismissal

*LD2908034491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0100 GMT 29 Aug 91*

[Summary] On behalf of 300 people, Aleskandr Prokopov, the secretary of the editorial office of VESTNIK SMOLENSKOY ATOMNOY ELEKTROSTANTSII, has sent a message to our editorial office. Here is the recording:

[Begin Prokopov recording] Workers of Smolensk nuclear electric power station have asked the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the RSFSR to dismiss the director of the station, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Zaprygin, from the office he occupies because in his order of 19 August, he essentially introduced an emergency at the enterprise and took upon himself and his staff the role of coordinator of the activity of all bodies and units involved. All this was in reference to Resolution 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. A similar letter has been sent to the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR.

Boris Antonov, a minissry representative, arrived at the station and was told the staff did not want to continue to take orders from a man who swore allegiance to the criminal committee and who obstructed the moves of the town committee, which remained loyal to the legally elected state power of Russia. [end recording]

Leningrad TV Suspends '600 Seconds' Program

*LD2808181991 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT
28 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Serdobolskiy]

[Text] Leningrad August 28 TASS—Chairman of the Leningrad Television and Radio Broadcasting Company Boris Petrov has suspended the Leningrad television channel's most popular news show "600 Seconds" and its anchor man and commentator Aleksandr Nevzorov.

The show went on the air every evening attracting millions of viewers in Leningrad and in Moscow.

The decision to ban the programme was prompted by the fact that the independent television company "600 Seconds" has been using the facilities of the Leningrad company for a year although no legally valid contract was ever signed.

Nevzorov described the move as a political act. "It is clear to me," Nevzorov told TASS, "that Petrov victimized us in order to avoid his own victimization by democrats who earlier removed Leonid Kravchenko from his post as the head of the national television and radio broadcasting company for his unseemly actions during the putsch".

Another possible reason for suspending "600 Seconds", according to Nevzorov, is the agreement he signed during his recent trip to Britain with a British television company to supply materials covering political and ideological repressions in Russia.

Nevzorov combined his trip to a television festival in Edinburgh with his engagement to a lady-descendent of an ancient Scottish clan, whose name he refused to reveal.

Asked where he will live after the marriage, Nevzorov replied, "only in Russia".

New Leningrad City Weekly To Appear 1 Sep

LD2808090491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1040 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad, 27 Aug (TASS)—Today, subscribers in the city and oblast received one of the last editions of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, which for 72 years has been coming out as the organ of the Leningrad CPSU organization. The labor collective backed Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak's proposal to set up a new weekly city newspaper, the SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI [SAINT PETERSBURG GAZETTE] on the basis of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. This will start coming out 1 September.

A message to readers stressed that this decision was made "proceeding from the civil duty of journalists, regardless of their political convictions, to help the mayor's office in reviving spiritual, scientific, and cultural values; strengthen the economy; and restore and develop the best traditions of the great city."

A newspaper with this title was published in Petersburg from 1728 at the Academy of Sciences. The great Russian scholar Mikhail Lomonosov was one of its first editors. From 1914 it was published under the title PETROGRADSKIYE VEDOMOSTI [PETROGRAD GAZETTE]. It was closed in 1917.

Paper No Longer Central Committee 'Mouthpiece'

LD2808051791 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT
27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—The national newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which was regarded as the mouthpiece of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, has switched to Russian trade unions' auspices. Igor Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions, and Anatoliy Yurkov, editor-in-chief of the newspaper, today announced that the newspaper's staff and the republican trade union center were from now on the founders of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. A respective application to register this publication was sent to the Russian Federation mass media ministry.

The activity of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA just as several other publications of the CPSU Central Committee was suspended in line with Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree of August 22. The newspaper was blamed for misinforming the population about the events linked with the attempted coup d'etat, the seizure of power by the putschists and their unlawful activity.

"We hope that once RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA gets free from the party press, it will gain genuine independence and become a mouthpiece of impartial information rather than the one which is imposed on it from above," deputy chairman of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions Vasilii Romanov told TASS.

"Undoubtedly, once the newspaper forges vigorous and specific ties with the Republic's trade union organizations, the workers' movement and with those whom we call people of hired labour, it will see the number of its readers surge sharply. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA should become a sharp weapon of independent trade unions in the struggle for the Russian people's interests and rights," Romanov stressed.

On behalf of the trade union and other republican structures, Romanov promised effective financial and technical assistance to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

Krasnodar Paper Suspended for Supporting Coup

LD2808194491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program
Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] For ignoring decrees issued by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president and supporting the activities of the State Committee on the State of Emergency in the days of the coup d'etat, the publication of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUBAN, organ of the kray Communist Party committee, has been temporarily suspended in Krasnodar. This was approved today by Dyakanov, head of administration in Krasnodar Kray.

Reports from large and small villages on the disappearance of consumer goods from shop shelves have become

the reason for instructing the kray directorate of internal affairs to carry out a 3-day check of depots, warehouses and storehouses of all trade organizations of the Kuban.

In connection with the departization of enterprises and institutions in Krasnodar Kray, the head of administration has issued an instruction to remove telephone numbers from party committees of all levels. They will be installed in the flats of invalids, participants in the war, internationalist servicemen, and other categories of persons who have earned certain privileges.

Resistance Group in Petrozavodsk Blames CIA

PM2908082291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[KO IMA-PRESS report: "Night. A Street. A Street Lamp. A Leaflet"]

[Text] In Petrozavodsk leaflets have appeared signed by the "Communist People's Resistance"—KoNaS for short—in which it says that the putsch scenario was devised by the CIA to enable democrats to strengthen their positions and undermine Gorbachev's once and for all.

Kabardino-Balkar To Hold Early Elections

LD2808180791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kabardino-Balkarian Soviet Socialist Republic announced today that the elections to the republican parliament will be held ahead of schedule. In essence, this means self-dissolution of the parliament. Such a decision was demanded by 68 people who went on a hunger strike protesting against the assessment given by the previous extraordinary session of the republican parliament regarding the activities of the leadership of the mountainous kray during the attempted coup d'etat. This was reported by a TASS correspondent.

Saratov Leaders Face Inquiry on Support for Coup

PM2808104791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[V. Nikolayeva report under the general heading: "Coup Failure Changes Political Situation Locally. IZVESTIYA Correspondent's Report": "Saratov"]

[Text] An emergency session of the Saratov City Soviet is examining the question of the political situation in the country and in Saratov as a result of the 19-21 August coup attempt. One of the main points on the agenda is the setting up of a deputies' commission to investigate unconstitutional activities by officials in the 19-21 August period. The session has noted that, by their actions, a number of city and oblast officials essentially supported the orders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. Thus, because of the activities of Saratov radio, TV, and the newspaper KOMMUNIST, the population of the city and the oblast found itself in a news black-out, receiving no information on the Russian leadership's activities and position. The City Soviet Presidium was inactive. The gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee], carrying out the decisions of the illegal SCSE, attempted to ban a citizens' rally on 20 August.

The Saratov Oblast Soviet leadership essentially disregarded its official duty to defend the constitutional system. Oblast Soviet Chairman K. Murenin—who is also first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Oblast Committee—refused to accept news from deputies about the Russian leadership's decisions.

Correction to Republic Role in Defense Policy

WA2808191791

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Republic Role in National Defense Policy Cited," published in the 17 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 67:

Page 68, first paragraph, sentence two, make read: ...can rapidly be reduced by 12 and 15 billion... (changing words "to between" to "by")

Belorussia

Prime Minister, Deputies Leave Communist Party

LD2808170891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Vyacheslav Frantsevich Kebich has become the first nonparty prime minister of Belorussia, our correspondent reports from Minsk. The republic's head of government, together with his deputies, has promulgated a statement in which their membership of the CPSU is suspended. The document expresses an attitude to the events that have taken place in the country and the republic, condemns the attempt at a coup d'etat, and assesses negatively the recent activities of the leadership of the CPSU. The authors of the statement dissociate themselves from the appeal of the Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee of 21 August 1991.

Statement Cites Reasons

OW2808182491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An official statement in the Belorussian press on Wednesday announced the decision of the republic's Prime Minister, Vyacheslav Kebich, and his deputies to leave the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The prime minister and his deputies used the statement to make their assessment of events in the country. They condemned the attempted coup and expressed their dissatisfaction with the recent actions of the party's Central Committee.

"We are leaving the party because the holders of executive power in the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] must be independent of all influence and act exclusively in conformity to the Constitution and laws of the Republic," the statement reads.

On 26th August the Belorussian Minister of Justice signed an order annulling the registration of the Belorussian Communist Party. Earlier, the Belorussian Supreme Soviet had temporarily suspended the activities of the party.

Party Criticizes Russian Statement on Borders

LD2908044591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0130 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The United Democratic Party of Belorussia has expressed its attitude to the statement by the leadership of Russia on the right to pose the issue of reexamining the frontiers of the Russian Federation with contiguous states. As noted by party cochairman Stanislav Gusak in a press statement, the separatist forces of Belorussia admire the Russians for their courage in the struggle against the perpetrators of the putsch. However, the

decision, which is insufficiently thought out in the view of the United Democratic Party of Belorussia, may lead to a growing together of an even more influential Communist lobby with the national democratic movements on the basis of defending national interests. A serious blow may thereby be struck at the democratic reforms.

It is noted that the talks on reexamining the existing frontiers will be detrimental to the national relations between the indigenous and the Russian population in the states bordering on Russia. This may cause a situation that will repeat the Yugoslavian tragedy. Good relations between neighbors, according to the statement of the United Democratic Party of Belorussia, can only be built on the basis of the stable nature of the existing frontiers.

Ukraine

Russian Delegation Arrives for Talks on Situation

Talks Begin in Kiev

OW2808200891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russo-Ukrainian talks attended by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet were held in Kiev on Wednesday to discuss bilateral relations in the light of the newly proclaimed Ukrainian independence and a statement by Boris Yeltsin's spokesman about the possible revision of the borders.

IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent reports the Russian delegation was met near the Ukrainian parliament by a crowd of several thousand people who chanted "Independence for the Ukraine!" and "No to the imperial center!" RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy addressed the people and said that the RSFSR delegation had arrived "to remove misunderstanding and stabilize inter-republican relations."

Deputy head of the Ukrainian parliament Dmitro Pavlychko said during the talks that "the industrial potential of the Ukraine is big enough for the republic to easily act as an independent state." He pointed out that "many generals from the number of military district commanders have announced their support for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet." According to D. Pavlychko, people in the Ukraine are profoundly concerned over Russia's rumored intention to advance territorial claims to "secessionist" republics.

Deputy leader of the People's Rada (before the coup—the official parliamentary opposition) Vladimir Filenko said "it was wrong to raise the border question all of a sudden" since it might fuel anti-Russian sentiments in his republic.

Stankevich: No Territorial Claims

*LD2808173891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] At this moment a meeting is being held in the Ukraine Supreme Soviet between the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the plenipotentiary representative of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Vice President of Russia Rutskoy and Democratic Russia leader Stankevich. In his brief statement to the press, Sergey Stankevich said that the delegations have arrived in Kiev in order to immediately begin talks between Russia and Ukraine. He noted that no one in Russia's official circles doubts Ukraine sovereignty and independence, and statements by certain individuals should not be taken as an official point of view. It was also stressed that the talks will begin without property and territorial claims. The necessary legal basis for the process of negotiations is there—Sergey Stankevich stated—namely, the treaty between Russia and Ukraine of 19 November 1990. A press conference is expected at the end of the meeting.

Rukh Protests Delegation

*LD2808174391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Here is a report from Kiev. The leadership of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika] and parties close to it have declared a decisive protest against the arrival of representatives of the union and Russian parliaments. Such an arrival without prior agreement with the Foreign Ministry of the Ukraine and its Supreme Soviet shows disrespect for the independence of the Ukraine that has been proclaimed, a Rukh representative stated on radio. He called on people to stage protest rallies and to picket the building of the Supreme Soviet, where meetings with those who have arrived are being held. At present, several thousand people are picketing the building with slogans of protest.

Rutskoy, Kravchuk on Talks

*LD2808225991 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Reportage from Kiev by correspondent Lidiya Ilchenko; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] At an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet in this building on 24th August an independent democratic Ukraine was proclaimed. This event worried and alarmed many people's deputies of the USSR. [video shows correspondent in front of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building. She then interviews two women in a crowd]

[Ilchenko] Tell me, what made you assemble here?

[First woman] Concern.

[Second woman] Concern for our Ukraine.

[Ilchenko] How do you envisage the Ukraine?

[Second woman in Ukrainian] I envisage it as being free and fraternal with all the peoples, that is to say, at last a free and our own national Ukraine. [video cuts to show Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Vice President Rutskoy addressing the crowd]

[Rutskoy] Esteemed Ukrainians and residents of the Ukraine, just like you we are concerned about all the events that are taking place at present in our country. This is the reason why at present there has been various speculation to the effect that Russia and the Ukraine wish to fall out with each other. Our delegation has come here with but one aim—to stabilize the relationship between the Ukraine and Russia and....

[Unidentified voices in crowd, interrupting] Glory be! Glory be!

[Rutskoy] Therefore, this is the main purpose of our delegation. The second thing is to elaborate a program for the transitional period because, as you know, the Union structures are in practice not running the country at present. Therefore the transitional period needs a program in accordance with which both the Ukraine and Russia will operate. It is for this purpose that we have come here. [crowd chants "Independence!" in Ukrainian]

[Ilchenko] We journalists have been impatiently awaiting the end of this meeting. [video cuts to show Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, surrounded by journalists and microphones]

[Kravchuk] The delegations have now separated. The Russian delegation is working on the text, and the Ukrainian delegation is also working on the text of a communique-statement in which we shall set out our common positions for the transitional period and also for the longer term.

[Ilchenko] Could you now tell us and specify for the journalists whether the talks have been between Russia and the Ukraine or....

[Kravchuk, interrupting] No, it has been talks between Russia and the Ukraine observed by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Unidentified journalist] Leonid Makarovich, do the territorial issues remain or not?

[Kravchuk] What?

[Journalist] Do the territorial issues remain or not?

[Kravchuk] With regard to territorial issues we shall declare right from the outset that we are proceeding on the basis that we do not have any claims on each other and take as our basis the treaty that we concluded last year.

[Ilchenko] But have some differences been observed between you?

[Kravchuk] You know, there were no great differences. As this, as this....[changes thought] Well, at first we thought that this would be very complex, but it passed, I would say, in a special way. I gave my word not to pass on at present any specific formulations, but I know that it was stated at the USSR Supreme Soviet that in general it was an emergency situation and that this is the reason that a delegation had come to the Ukraine.

[Ilchenko, interrupting] Indeed, this caused such a storm.

[Kravchuk] I repudiate this statement. It was not thought through and it is quite unfounded in reality. I consider that the RSFSR delegation came here after studying the issue well and with fine and thorough principles. We have also expressed our principles. There has been a very serious and very solid discussion. I—well, I do not want to anticipate events. I think that we shall definitely arrive at a determination of those fundamental issues relating to the present and the future in order to reach the end goal.

[Ilchenko] Have you been discussing military problems?

[Kravchuk] We discussed everything. We specified three problems—first, the political problem; second, the economic problem; and third, the military strategic problem. Our communique will consist of three small sections. We agreed that they will be very small. I think that we shall definitely reach agreement. But there is no need now to anticipate things, because the work is under way.

'No Serious Contradictions'

LD2908075291 Moscow TASS in English
0714 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—No serious contradictions have occurred during talks between Russian and Ukrainian delegations in Kiev, Ukrainian parliament head Leonid Kravchuk said in a television interview aired on Wednesday evening.

Some tension in relations between the Soviet Union's largest republics followed a statement by the Russian president's spokesman, published on Monday, reading that Russia "retains the right to raise the issue of revising borders" with adjacent republics declaring their independence, except the three Baltic republics.

The Russian parliament's delegation led by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has arrived to Kiev. The Soviet parliament on Wednesday also decided to send its observers to Russian-Ukrainian talks.

Kravchuk said that after the first round of talks, Russian and Ukrainian delegations began drafting a final communique outlining their approaches to bilateral relations during the transitional period and the future.

Kravchuk said the very first phrases of the communique will read that the two republics have no territorial claims over each other.

'Unofficial Translation' of Accord

AU2908103091 Paris AFP in English
1012 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 29 (AFP) — This is an unofficial translation of the overnight agreement signed by delegations from the Russian and Ukraine republics in Kiev, in the presence of a Soviet delegation.

"Following the crushing of the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union, a new political situation has emerged which enables democratic reforms to be stepped up and the implementation of the sovereign rights of republics," said the preliminary text of the eight-point agreement reached between Ukraine Parliament President Leonid Kravchuk and Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

"After the dismissal of the Cabinet of Ministers and the inability of the State and Union structures to guarantee the vital interests of the people, approving the rights of the Ukraine and of Russia to independence, affirming agreement with the treaty signed on November 19, 1990 between Russia and the Ukraine, the parties agree to:

"1. Take joint actions to avoid the uncontrolled disintegration of the state Union, in the belief that during the interim period and to ensure the essential needs of the population and the working of the economy, it would be reasonable to set up transitional structures among interested states, with the participation of member states of the former Soviet Union, independent of their current status, and on the basis of equal representation.

"2. Propose to member states of the former Union, independent of their current status, to prepare and sign a mutual economic agreement.

"3. Reaffirm the particular importance of military and strategic problems, call for the necessity to reform the Union Armed Forces and create a collective system of security. Not to take unilateral decisions in military and strategic questions.

"4. During the transition period, measures affecting the mutual interests of the parties should not be taken without prior consultation.

"5. Reaffirm articles 2 and 6 of the November 19, 1990 agreement (between Russian and the Ukraine) on citizens' rights and on territorial integrity.

"6. Underline the determination with the other members of the former Union to continue democratic reforms and to coordinate a policy of radical economic reform.

"7. Observe the Union's international commitments, including the agreement on arms reduction and control and to support peace and stability in the world. Declare themselves ready on the basis of negotiations with the

member states of the former Union along with the international community to resolve during the interim period any questions which arise on international commitments made in the past.

"8. Immediately exchange representatives between Russia and Ukraine so as to inform the parties and for the purpose of consultations."

Foreign Minister Cited on Independence Issues

*LD2808184691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2100 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Report on interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko—place and date not given; read by announcer]

[Text] [Begin Zlenko recording fading to English translation] Adoption of the act on Ukraine's independence is a historic event. The staff of the Foreign Ministry perceives this act as the one which confirms the independent foreign policy of the republic and at the same time places great obligations on our ministry. I have to say that right after adoption of this act we informed the international organizations and foreign public that this action took place at the session of the Supreme Soviet of our republic, of our state, it would be more precise to say.

I want also to add that we already held a sitting of the board at the ministry and determined a whole number of measures which are to be realized so as to implement the act on Ukraine's independence. (?Corresponding) documents have been already sent to various (?countries); we have informed also the UN Secretary General. Other measures were taken in connection with this act and decision of our board.

Answering the question about the reaction of the foreign countries to the act of [word indistinct] independence, the Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko said the following:

As far as I know the foreign public and the mass media widely (?challenged) the (?act of) Ukraine's independence. Representatives of some foreign countries (?in) part of the neighboring Czechoslovakia, have already visited our ministry and informed that their governments have recognized this act.

And how do you explain a certain cautiousness on the part of the West?

I think it is because of complicated developments both in the entire country and in our republic, so they need time to comprehend this historic act.

Then Radio Kiev's correspondent asked Anatoliy Zlenko to comment on yesterday's statement made by the Russian president concerning the revision of borders between Russia and neighboring republics.

I'd like to say that in the territorial issue, we should be based on the treaty between Ukraine and Russia which

was signed on 19th November 1980. Its Article six says strictly and clearly that the high contractual sides [as heard] recognize and respect the territorial integrity of Ukraine and Russia in the existing borders within the USSR.

And what are your relations with Russia's Foreign Ministry, was the question from our correspondent.

Our relations are quite good. I know Russia's Foreign Minister Kozyrev for a long time. We uphold constant contact and I'd like to say that it was the first ministry with which we've established corresponding contacts during the three days of the coup d'etat. We exchanged information available.

Ukraine is a United Nations member. Does it give it any privileges for being recognized with the world community?

I think those are really great privileges because the world community recognizes us as a subject of international law. That is why our communication with other countries through the United Nations will make it possible for us to resolve a whole number of practical issues.

Rukh Leader Urges Support for Independence

*OW2808141091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1240 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on Ukrainian Radio, a member of the Ukrainian parliament, deputy chairman of Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroika] Nikolay Porovskiy has declared that the news of the arrival of two delegations from Moscow in Kiev aroused "concern and bewilderment."

He stressed that after the proclamation of independence by the Ukraine, the USSR Constitution and legislation are no longer in force in his republic. According to Porovskiy, the Soviet national parliament is a body of a foreign state and the visit of its delegation to Kiev was not agreed upon with the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry.

Besides, he said, no one said what questions the delegation intends to discuss and whether the Presidium of the Ukrainian parliament is ready for the discussion. This, the Rukh leader said, is a manifestation of disrespect for a young, independent state.

If the delegation of the Russian parliament consisting of Vice President Rutskoy and State Adviser Stankevich represents the democratic forces of Russia, Rukh is ready to receive it and discuss all questions, Porovskiy said. But if it tries to pressure the Ukrainian parliament, this is unacceptable for leading bodies of Russia.

Porovskiy urged the people of the Ukraine to support its parliament, unite around it irrespective of party membership and defend the drive to independence. Porovskiy called for organizing rallies in support of the parliament

throughout the Ukraine. He urged the residents of Kiev to rally around the building of parliament where a meeting with the delegations from Moscow is scheduled for 16:00 [1300 GMT].

Additional Powers Granted to Republic Chairman

*LD2808090191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian
0500 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] The Ukraine Supreme Soviet resolves that until the president of the Ukraine is elected, additional powers will be granted to the chairman of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, permitting him the rights of: issuing instructions, within the framework of the Ukraine's legislative instructions, the fulfillment of which is obligatory; stopping decisions and instructions of the Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers and orders of ministers and other state servants that are subordinate to the Cabinet of Ministers of the republic, should they not correspond to the constitution and laws of the Ukraine, until these actions are sorted out by the Ukraine SSR Supreme Soviet; and stopping the force of decisions emanating from oblast, rayon, city, and rayon (?in cities) councils that are adopted in disregard of the constitution and laws of the Ukraine, until they are reviewed by the Ukraine Supreme Soviet.

Commentator Hails Supreme Soviet Decisions

*LD2408223291 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian
1810 GMT 24 Aug 91*

[Report by commentator Viktor Leshek at the end of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session in Kiev—live]

[Text] At this moment, certain misunderstandings keep cropping up on the square outside the Supreme Soviet building, but I think that, under the impact of holiday moods, the anger and hatred will retreat to the rear ground. Today, we achieved something that the Ukraine can be proud of, something we will be able to pass to our children.

Indeed, on 24 August 1991, at 1759 [1459 GMT], an act on declaring Ukrainian independence was adopted. This actually means that the Ukraine is becoming an independent, democratic state and withdrawing from the USSR. The final decision on whether the Ukraine will become a sovereign state must be confirmed by all of us on 1 December in a national referendum.

Let me review the decisions adopted today. It is beyond man's ability to list all the decisions. The main one was on the political situation in the republic and urgent tasks to prevent future state or party overthrows. This was followed by a whole package of laws. I am at a loss to say which should be addressed first. Every decision amounted to a greatly impressive and revolutionary step. Here are some of them:

All union enterprises were transferred to the republic's jurisdiction. What is more, all military units deployed on

Ukrainian territory are subordinate to the Supreme Soviet. The republic's Defense Ministry will be restored. It was decided to create our own armed forces. There was a decision today on starting a process analogous to those witnessed in East European countries after the fall of the totalitarian regimes. A decision on departization was adopted, too, namely of state organs such as the Procuracy, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the KGB. Departization will also apply to state establishments and organizations, radio and television. The fate of party committees at industrial enterprises will be decided by work collectives themselves.

I repeat: the package of decisions was so thick that I must collect my thoughts to produce the first results of what was taking place in the session hall of the Supreme Soviet.

Before I bid you good-bye, I would like to congratulate all citizens of sovereign Ukraine on the day of 24 August, when Ukrainian independence was proclaimed.

All the best to you from commentator Viktor Leshek.

Concord Called For Among Democratic Forces

*LD2808210491 Moscow TASS in English
2011 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Kiev August 28 UKRINFORM-TASS—The presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet adopted an address to political parties, movements and organizations of the republic.

It says that an event of exceptional historical significance occurred on August 24, 1991—the Ukraine was proclaimed an independent democratic state.

We hope this major act, subject to approval by the will of the entire Ukrainian people, will help rally our society for protecting its democratic gains, fill the newly proclaimed sovereignty with effective substance and build a law-governed state which will protect above all universal human values and interests of each individual, the address says.

However, the extremely complicated economic situation of the Ukrainian state and the discord in the activity of different political forces pose a threat. Situations of this kind are known to have occurred in the history of the Ukraine under Bogdan Khmelnytsky and from 1917 to 1920, when the Ukraine lost its statehood because of the lack of accord, irreconcilable differences between separate layers of the population and lack of state experience.

Under these conditions, the address stresses, the fate of the Ukraine will depend on the ability of different democratic forces to reach concord.

In this connection, the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, seeking consolidation of all progressive forces, appeals to all political parties, public movements, associations and organizations, which share the sense of lofty responsibility for the future of our state, to pool

their efforts in order to build an independent sovereign Ukraine and sign a joint agreement to guarantee civil concord.

Actions Taken on Communist Party Activities

Coup Ties To Be Investigated

LD2608200691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Ukraine Supreme Soviet Presidium member I.R. Yukhovskyy, after Ukraine Supreme Soviet Session in Kiev on 25 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Yukhnovskyy] [passage omitted] The presidium has passed a decision on the transfer of all property of the Communist Party [CP] to the ownership of the soviets, that is, the property that belonged to the Secretariat and Central Committee of the CPSU now goes over to the republic's Supreme Soviet and that of local Communist Party organizations—to local soviets.

In this connection I should like to advise the people of Ukraine to watch this property. This property is abundant and of great value and the people badly need it, especially the part that consists of mass information media and communication means. [passage omitted]

I should also like to reveal that the Presidium will adopt tomorrow two important decisions. One of them will refer to halting the activities of the CP of Ukraine all over the republic until its part in the coup is investigated. A commission will be formed tomorrow for investigating the part played by various officials and organizations in the coup. Apart from this, departization will be implemented. I should like to address the people with these words: We are creating a state suitable for people of all hues, for communists and noncommunists. [passage omitted] I wish to see this departure from communism as a voluntary process. All people have to remain in their workplaces and to labor in the name of their homeland. Ukraine must not be turned into a land for Ukrainians only. It must become a homeland for representatives of all nations that live on its territory. All of them will have the opportunity to freely develop their cultures. [passage omitted]

Today a special decree of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet Presidium will be signed. In connection with the declaration of independence of Ukraine, the presidium will enact amnesty for those who were wronged during the period of most acute confrontations for finding correct paths toward Ukrainian statehood. Thus, case No.49/416 is to be halted, and Stepan Khmara and all those accused with him will be freed in a few hours, that is Khmara, Berezhanskyy, Kovalchuk, Batovkin, Vorobyov, Ratushnyy and Holovach.

Apart from this, in various prisons there are detained people who were arrested for their struggle for independence of Ukraine. They will also be freed today, that is

Lupynis, Serhiyenko and [word indistinct]. May I congratulate them on their freedom. May I advise their friends and followers to go and meet them. But I would not advise people to storm the prisons concerned out of impatience. I assure you they will be free as soon as all the formalities are over. [passage omitted]

Details of Coup Ties

LD2808172391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] (?Bits) of evidence have been found in Lvov which testify to the direct involvement of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Ukraine in the abortive coup d'etat in the USSR.

While unsealing the offices of the regional Communist Party Committee, the commission set up by the Lvov regional executive council found a message from the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine calling upon the party committees to help the so-called State Committee on the State of Emergency, the body created by the conspirators.

The Central Committee advised that the Communist Party committees should proceed from the documents of the above committee in their activities. The message also contained an instruction to outlaw strikes and manifestations.

Activities Suspended

LD2708112991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS-Ukrinform correspondent Anatoliy Grigoryev]

[Text] Kiev, 27 August (TASS)—The republic's papers today published a decree by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium suspending the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party. This decision was adopted, the document says, in connection with the existence of material indicating participation by Ukrainian Communist Party bodies in the coup d'etat of 19-21 August 1991, in order to guarantee conditions for investigating the case and stabilizing the sociopolitical situation.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs has been instructed with the help of people's deputies to seal all service premises belonging to Ukrainian Communist Party committees and to place them under guard.

Party bodies as well as enterprises founded by them or subordinate to them are forbidden to carry out any financial transactions, including currency ones.

Until the question of salaries for senior workers in party bodies is conclusively resolved they are to be paid from Ukrainian Communist Party funds. Other workers are to be paid from the state budget in accordance with current legislation.

'Sealing' of Committees Concluded

OW2708164091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The sealing of almost all Communist party committees in the Ukraine, except regional party committees in Khmelnytsky, Cherkassy and the Crimea, was concluded on Monday.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, in the Crimea party committees refused to submit to the decision of the Ukrainian parliament's presidium to transfer Communist party property to the Ukrainian parliament.

At the administrative center of the Crimea, Simferopol, there are rumours that all regional and city party committees held closed plenums and decided that the documents that might compromise the party should be destroyed.

Ban of Party Urged

OW2808201991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council has urged the Supreme Court to speed up the examination of evidence testifying to the Ukrainian Communist Party's [UCP's] support of the coup d'etat. The fact of convening an illegal plenum of the UCP CC [Central Committee] after the party activities were suspended has been added to the evidence.

The plenum has proclaimed the independence of the UCP from the CPSU and called the suspension of the UCP activities "unconstitutional". According to unofficial reports, the plenum was held in the party high school building which was still unsealed at the time.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council believes the plenum put the party above the law and, therefore, it should be banned.

Rukh Expresses Concern Over Border Issue

OW2808203591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian popular movement Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroika] has expressed concern over Russia's statement about the possible border revision. It is viewing the statement as a reflection of Russian neo-democrats' negative reaction to the Ukrainian people's attempt to "become the masters of their land." Rukh believes that Russia itself will never be free "if it seeks to enslave other peoples or seize their territories."

In a statement made public in Kiev on Wednesday, Rukh calls for full compliance with the Helsinki Act proclaiming, among other things, the inviolability of the existing borders.

Deputy on Border's Inviolability

OW2808184691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Colonel Vilen Martirosyan, a Ukrainian deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said on Wednesday in a conversation with journalists that "the political situation in the Ukraine is now perfectly normal". He said that there were no meetings, demonstrations or tensions whatsoever.

The emergency visit of a delegation of the Soviet Parliament to Kiev was, he claimed, a mistake by Ivan Laptev, who was "trying in vain to stir up public opinion".

However, Martirosyan said there were reasons for tension between the Russian and Ukrainian leaderships and this concerned primarily the statements of the Russian leadership about border issues. He stated that as a political figure and as Chairman of the Committee of Ukrainian Officers he would speak out in favour of the inviolability of the republic's borders. He said that disputes could only be dealt with if the principles of the integrity of the Ukrainian borders were observed.

Martirosyan also confirmed the intention of several political figures to establish a Ukrainian republican army. He did not exclude the possibility of the Ukraine receiving some of the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons.

Crimean Defense Commissariats Absorbed

LD2808180691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The decision of the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet, which puts the military commissariat of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as well as oblast, town, and rayon commissariats, under the subordination of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, has become one of the first steps on the path of implementing the act on Ukrainian independence. The Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic and [words indistinct] executive committees of the appropriate soviets of people's deputies.

Volunteers Sign Up To Join National Guard

LD2608182891 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From The "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The first volunteers have started signing on with a republican national guard at the initiative of the Lvov Public Committee for Reviving the Ukrainian National

Army. Headquarters for forming these subunits have been set up. Volunteers are admitted on the basis of competition. For those wishing to join, applications are accepted from individuals aged 18 to 35. However, there are no age limits for officers and warrant officers. Future members of the national guard must present references from their labor collectives and public organizations. The Lvov Public Committee for Reviving the Ukrainian National Army has adopted an appeal to the population and servicemen of the republic. [video shows volunteers at recruitment office]

Over 400,000 in Ranks

LD2808193791 Moscow Russian Television Network
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Unfortunately, our prediction is coming true that the main problem in the new country in which we are living since the coup is the problem of the collapse of the Union, which is noticeably speeding up. This is casting doubt over the Union treaty and in such a case, it is bringing nearer the resignation of Gorbachev, a possibility that he mentioned in parliament yesterday.

Today we have received details from Lvov about the national armed forces of the Ukraine, which are being set up there. The number of servicemen in their ranks exceeds 400,000. Service will be on a contractual basis and the army will be subordinate to the president.

Opposition Groups Issue Appeal to Armed Forces

LD2808172191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1230 GMT 28 Aug 91

[by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent S. Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 28 August (TASS)—The Narodna Rada—the opposition in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the Rukh of Ukraine, and the Union of Officers of Ukraine—issued an appeal today to servicemen serving within the republic and also to those in the reserve and in retirement. The document has been issued following the act adopted on 24 August this year on the state independence of the Ukraine, and following the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet resolution on the subordination to the republican parliament of troops stationed on the territory of the Ukraine.

The authors of the appeal declare that the subordination of armed forces stationed in Ukraine to the republican Supreme Soviet must not affect the level of combat readiness of military units and subunits, the quality of combat training, or the level of troops' material and technical equipment. The material position of servicemen and members of their families, the appeal says, should be protected by the Ukrainian Government. Observance of their rights is guaranteed regardless of the national affiliation, language, religious and political convictions, and all legal benefits, pensions, and subsidies

are maintained. An institute of representatives of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for the armed forces will be set up to defend the lawful rights of servicemen in all garrisons. The document stresses that attempts politically, socially or otherwise to isolate army units where they are stationed are impermissible.

The appeal points out the importance of unity of the army and the people in this difficult period of establishing Ukrainian statehood, and expresses the conviction that the troops stationed in the republic will become the basis of the Ukrainian armed forces.

KGB Division Calls For End to Harassment

OW2708152191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The personnel of the special KGB division stationed in the Ukrainian city of Chuguyev appealed to President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, the Supreme Soviet and the parliaments of Russia and the Ukraine to put an end to the harassment of KGB troops, preserve the division with a view to protecting the country's constitutional system and place it under the authority of an agency that would have the right to use it.

Servicemen belonging to the division have been faithful to their oath, says their appeal handed on Tuesday to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet. They demand that a parliamentary commission be sent to them to investigate the situation.

The appeal says that the servicemen reserve the right to safeguard their honour and dignity, protect their families, defend the division's commanding officers by taking them under protection and prevent them from being exerted pressure on.

"If the president and the Supreme Soviet retract their own laws, we'll have to ask the Ukrainian parliament to consider the possibility of placing our division under Ukrainian jurisdiction", the appeal says.

The division's deputy commander Lt.-Colonel Gennadiy Krutov explained to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that the division had been groundlessly accused of supporting the conspirators despite the fact that during the coup all its servicemen remained in their barracks.

Lenin Statues Toppled, Square Renamed

OW2708150791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from the town of Rovno in the Western Ukraine that, by decision of the municipal council, the statue of Lenin has been removed from the town's central square. The approximately five thousand people who watched this happen hailed the

decision of the municipal authorities to change the name of the square to Independence Square and the name of Lenin Street to Cathedral Street.

A statue of Lenin has also been brought down in Julfa, Nakhichevan ASSR.

Last night, paint was smeared over Lenin statues in Nizhni Novgorod and Saratov regions and in Leningrad.

Tense Situation at Polish Border Due to Back Up

*LD2608184191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1805 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov, 26 Aug (TASS)—A tense situation has arisen at the Soviet-Polish border near the Szezinia international road crossing. A line of motorists stretching for many kilometers has been building up here for over five days now and it is ready to break through at any minute. If that happens, neither reinforced detachments of border troops nor militia brigades will save the border.

In the opinion of the authorities in Lvov, this dramatic situation at the border is the fault of tourist organizations in the Ukraine and other republics. UKRINFORM-TASS reported recently that the Lvov oblast sanitation and health center had decided on 19 August to suspend temporarily the use of Szezinia by tourists and private individuals. The crossing point, which was built in 1965, is designed to handle 750 vehicles every 24 hours, but in recent years the volume of traffic has increased fourfold. This could not fail to have an impact on the situation regarding sanitation and disease as well as on the ecological situation.

"The Lvov oblast executive committee does not intend to open the Szezinia crossing point to tourists and private individuals until there is order there," stated Stepan Davymuka, first deputy chairman of the oblast Executive Committee.

Moldova

President Interviewed on USSR, Romania Ties

*AU2808182191 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio
Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Republic of Moldova President Mircha Snegur today gave an exclusive interview to Bucharest radio. He said that the main directions of action for turning the independence declaration into real independence involves the foreign embassies in the USSR and Romania: The aim is to present the declaration on the independence proclamation to them, with a view to ensuring that the countries represented by these embassies, particularly the European ones, take a stand

regarding this small, free, and independent country, Moldova. This will be done at the international level.

At the domestic level, it is necessary—the government is already preparing to take the necessary steps—to adopt certain decisions on urgent measures to stabilize the economic situation. These decisions, President Snegur said, are linked to our foreign policy, but they certainly will not interrupt the ties to the republics of the former Soviet Union, given the fact that for the past 50 years the economy has been so integrated in the Union that the links cannot be severed abruptly.

President Mircha Snegur said in his interview that he sent a message to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev informing him that the parliament unanimously proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Moldova and that an official governmental delegation was set up to conduct the appropriate negotiations; he said he trusted that the Soviet Union would also proceed accordingly. It is hard to say when the negotiations proper will start—given the current situation in the country. I believe that another week will pass before the domestic situation becomes clearer, after which our effort will largely depend on our steadfastness, said President Mircha Snegur in the interview he granted this evening to our radio station.

Territorial Issue To Be Raised With Ukraine

*LD2808192991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1844 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 28 August (TASS)—Romania and Georgia have officially recognized the independence of the Republic of Moldova. This was stated by Mircha Snegur, the president of Moldova, and Aleksandr Mosanu, the chairman of the republic's parliament, speaking at a news conference here today. In the words of the republic's president, it is possible that in the near future, a meeting might take place in Kishinev between the leaders of Moldova and Romania.

Regarding the issue of the territories of Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia, which lie under Ukrainian jurisdiction, the leaders of Moldova have emphasized that they will be the subject of talks with the Ukrainian leadership. The time will come, they noted, when we will sit down at a table for talks and we will resolve this problem.

Communist 'Propaganda' To Be Removed

*LD2808223591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1550 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Kishinev, 28 Aug (TASS)—The Moldova Government has issued a special instruction on eliminating the consequences of propaganda of communist ideology in the republic: Dismantling all monuments that engage in propaganda for pseudo-history of the Moldovan people;

renaming settlements, streets, and enterprises taking into account their historical and cultural traditions; removing visual propaganda materials of communist orientation on the whole territory of the republic; and redecorating layout in all museums are planned among immediate measures.

Resolution Adopted

AU2608132791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0958 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 26/8/1991—"ROMPRES" special envoys to Chisinau [Kishinev] inform that the presidium of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopted in its 25 August meeting a resolution providing for the demolition and storing of all the monuments belonging to the communist ideology and the propagation of a pseudo-history of the people.

The meeting also decided to change the communist-type name of localities, streets, organizations, enterprises and farmsteads, and to adapt them to the national historical and cultural traditions.

The document, which is to be translated into fact till 5 September [as received], also stipulates the withdrawal of communist-propaganda materials from the territory of the republic.

The resolution of the Parliament's Presidium is part of the measures taken on the last few days by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova for the removal of the baneful consequences of communism in the territory of Moldova.

Acts Against Gagauz, Dniestr Leaders Noted

PM2908083091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[N. Prikhodko report under the general heading "Communism Drifting South?": "Moldova"]

[Text] Moldova has proclaimed its independence from the Union and the Dniestr region has declared itself independent from Moldova.

The Moldavian parliamentarians' desire to protect their small republic from the possibility of another occupation, highly likely in the event of a putschist victory, is understandable. Incidentally, Kishinev contributed actively to their defeat and was one of the first to support Russia in the demand to restore lawful power.

The Moldova government undertook resolute measures on the domestic front, too—with regard to the leaders of Gagauzia and the Dniestr region, who welcomed the State Committee for the State of Emergency. In Grigoriopol, rayon soviet executive committee deputy chairman V. Botnar was taken from his bed. In Bendery, city soviet chairman G. Pologov was seized on the road. In the south, S. Topal, chairman of the Gagauz Republic Supreme Soviet, was arrested. In Tiraspol, they have not yet managed to catch Dniestr region leader I. Smirnov but he is high on their wanted list. And all this without the sanction of the local soviets....

In reply, the Dniestr Republic has deleted the word "Moldovan" from its name. This gesture has at least ensured the resumption of local newspapers that were closed down 23 August by special resolution of the Moldovan parliament presidium as "instruments of the propaganda of anticonstitutional violence." The document does not specify the form that the propaganda of violence took. Probably it was in publishing the first resolutions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Admittedly, it is strange that a similar measure has not been used against national television, which was first to broadcast the aforementioned texts.

Russian-language newspapers published in Kishinev—party ones and the rest—subjected to a blanket ban by the same resolution, are still not being published. Their journalists, by the way, disagree with the term "instruments of violence" and lay claim to a more modest definition—opposition organs—which the republic's leadership has long wanted to be rid of. They are not being allowed into the House of the Press and the editorial offices have been hurriedly locked.

Georgia

Decrees Recognize Moldova, Latvia, Lithuania

AU2908083491 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network
in Georgian 0200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Decrees issued by President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Tbilisi on 27 August]

[Text] On the Recognition of the State Independence of the Republic of Moldova:

In accordance with the main principles of the foreign policy of the Republic of Georgia, I decree that:

1. On the basis of the adoption by the Republic of Moldova of the act of independence on 26 August 1991, the Republic of Georgia recognizes the Republic of Moldova as an independent state and a full-fledged subject of international law;

2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia is instructed to start negotiations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova on the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries;

3. The Republic of Georgia calls on all sovereign states to recognize the state independence of the Republic of Moldova.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 27 August 1991.

On the Recognition of the State Independence of the Republic of Latvia:

In accordance with the main principles of the foreign policy of the Republic of Georgia, I decree that:

1. On the basis of the adoption by the Republic of Latvia of the act of the restoration of state independence on 21 August 1991, the Republic of Georgia recognizes the Republic of Latvia as an independent state and a full-fledged subject of international law;

2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia is instructed to start negotiations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia with the aim of establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries;

3. The Republic of Georgia calls on all sovereign states to recognize the state independence of the Republic of Latvia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 27 August 1991.

On the Recognition of the State Independence of the Republic of Lithuania:

In accordance with the main principles of the foreign policy of the Republic of Georgia, I decree that:

1. On the basis of the adoption by the Republic of Lithuania of the act of the restoration of state independence, the Republic of Georgia recognizes the Republic of Lithuania as an independent state and a full-fledged subject of international law;

2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia is instructed to start negotiations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the aim of establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries;

3. The Republic of Georgia calls on all sovereign states to recognize the state independence of the Republic of Lithuania.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 27 August 1991

Social Democrats Criticize Gamsakhurdia

LD2808184491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1035 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 August (TASS)—The Georgian Social Democratic Party has sharply condemned the position of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia during the attempted coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. "Despite our party's demands for condemnation of the putschists"—says a statement circulated today by the Social Democrats—"the Georgian president did not condemn them, saying that the events were taking place in a 'foreign country'."

"I tried twice to appear on television and condemn the organizers of the coup d'etat," Professor Guram Muchaidze, chairman of the Social Democratic Party told a TASS correspondent, and twice the president's secretariat forbade the television to allow me to do so." In the opinion of the party chairman, Zviad Gamsakhurdia thus refused to support a common democratic front against the putschists.

President on National Guard, Autonomous Regions

PM2908142991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[B. Urigashvili report under general headline "Events Day By Day": "Gamsakhurdia Demands Powers"]

[Text] An emergency session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet has been held. Speaking at the session, Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia assessed the Georgian leadership's actions during the putsch. In his opinion, these actions were balanced and sensible and prevented any punitive action being taken against the civilian population.

Gamsakhurdia focused in detail on the situation that has emerged with respect to the national guard. As is well known, some of the guard refused to carry out the president's decree granting the guard special-purpose militia status and left for summer camp in protest. Gamsakhurdia said that the decree was dictated by tactical considerations and was aimed at protecting young men from punitive operations by the Army. The president rescinded his decree, issuing another on the creation of a Georgian Republic State Defense Department.

He proposed that deputies set up a special group, including the parents of guard members, which would travel to the Rkonskoye Gorge—where some guard members are currently located—inform them of the presidential and parliamentary decision, and call on them to return to barracks. Gamsakhurdia reserved the right to appoint guard commanders down to the battalion and company level.

The president also touched on the situation in Abkhazia and the former South Ossetia. In his opinion, the victory for democracy in Russia will make it easier to solve the problems in these regions. He demanded special emergency powers from parliament regarding the leadership of the autonomous republics of Abkhazia and Adzharia. So far he has not been granted these powers.

The emergency session of the Georgian parliament recognized the state independence of Latvia and Estonia and expressed readiness to establish diplomatic relations with them.

On the basis of the ruling from the republic's Supreme Court, the parliament banned the Georgian Communist Party as a criminal organization. In light of this decision, the legal status of communist deputies who gained their parliamentary seats on the party list is unclear. The session also decided to prohibit any persecution on party grounds.

Government Creates State Defense Department

LD2808212691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The main events are taking place now in the republics, and we can report that in Georgia a state defense department has been created. The details in a report from Tbilisi by Nana Gongadze.

[Gongadze] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has issued a decree on the repeal of the status of the national guard as an OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] unit. From now on the function of the Georgian internal troops will be the guarding of the republic's integrity and the defense of the rights and freedoms of the peoples living on its land.

Recently there have been rumors that the national guard has been abolished and that young guardsmen are hiding in the forests.

[D. Tabatadze, colonel of the Republic of Georgia's national guard, identified by caption] Yes, the national guard really is in the forests, the mountains—they are on training exercises. This was officially reported by the commander of the troops of the Transcaucasus Military District, Colonel General Patrikeyev, that such exercises will be held from 20 August to 5 September. If you believe in rumors, then I can even state that yesterday's IZVESTIYA reported that the 15,000-strong army of the Georgian national guard was no longer subordinate to Gamsakhurdia—this is absurd. It is not true. The Georgian national guard is loyal to the republic's president and will obey the president's orders.

[Gamsakhurdia] Specialists from the Georgian defense department have already begun to develop the basic documents for the creation of a ministry of defense in the future. In the near future Georgia will have its own navy, air force, and other kinds of troops.

Armenia

Manukyan Predicts Economic Union of 15 Republics

OW2808185091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with republican TV, Armenian Prime Minister Vazghen Manukyan suggested that an economic union of 15 republics might soon be formed.

Assessing the current situation, Mr. Manukyan noted that in the near future each republic is likely to proclaim its independence. However, he said, "It is so easy to break off the existing close economic links between them".

AOD Discusses Upcoming Referendum, Elections

LD2908195191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1507 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Aug (TASS)—The tasks of the Armenian National Movement [AOD] were discussed today at the extraordinary third congress of this mass public and political organization that rules in the republic. At the center of attention of the delegates were the recent events in the country and the situation in the republic on the eve of the forthcoming referendum on 21 September on Armenian independence and of elections for the first president of the republic.

The main lesson of the recent events, in the opinion of Vano Siradegyan, chairman of the board of the AOD, is that there is now an awareness of the need to "use the situation that is arising to greatly speed up the process of achieving the independence of Armenia." But, he said, it

must be recognized that today we are not ready for independence either politically, or economically, or emotionally. Vano Siradegyan told the deputies about the continuing session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, at which the question is being discussed of convening an extraordinary session of parliament to examine the question of declaring the republic independent.

The congress unanimously decided to nominate Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the supreme Soviet of Armenia, as candidate for president of the republic, and entrusted the board of the AOD with organizing the election campaign.

APM Urges 'Yes' Vote in 21 Sep Referendum

NC2808104591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network
in Armenian 0600 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] The paper's front page item is the following appeal made to the Armenian people by the Armenian Pan-National Movement's third congress:

The collapse of the Communist Party ushers in a broad and vigorous decolonization and political [words indistinct] processes. Armenia finds itself in a rare historical situation of emerging (?new) states. The creation of a free and independent Armenian state is an enormous (?honor) conferred on this generation.

The Armenian Pan-National Movement's third congress calls on the Armenian people to remain faithful to the centuries-long freedom struggle of the earlier generations and fulfill its duty towards [words indistinct] by voting yes at the 21 September referendum.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Address on Current 'Threat'

NC2808122691 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Text" of speech by President Ayaz Mutalibov on 26 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, citizens of the Azerbaijan Republic, brothers and sisters: I am speaking to you at a difficult stage. I have always addressed you when the republic arrived a crossroads and when a responsible decision was required. I have always appealed to you when I felt that danger was near. I feel that we are at a crossroads now, and we must make a responsible decision. We are being confronted with a threat. Our republic cannot avoid being influenced by the developments in the Soviet Union. We have seen many instances in our history that Armenian nationalism has surfaced whenever stability was disrupted in

the country. Armenian nationalists have never abandoned their objective of fragmenting Azerbaijan and weakening the republic's state structure nor will they. They have done everything possible to achieve this objective. A treacherous campaign has been launched against Azerbaijan in various parts of the Soviet Union and worldwide following the failure of the anticonstitutional coup attempt. An effort is now being made to slander our innocent people, our people who have shared their bread and [words indistinct] with the Armenians in the past and who continue to provide shelter to hundreds of thousands of Armenians who regard Azerbaijan as their homeland.

As the president of Azerbaijan, I am the main target of this new attack. The enemy wants to damage us. They are aware that respecting the head of the family is a sacred tradition in Azerbaijan; and they are aware that disagreements do in fact exist within this family. They believe, therefore, that they can break the will of this family by pitting its members against each other. They believe that they can weaken the people from within the country by leveling ugly calumnies on them. I am not talking about myself. This is a matter for the presidency of Azerbaijan, which is a sovereign republic. The future of the people, including their customs, traditions, and right to exist, is being openly threatened.

Considering the political situation worldwide and in the Soviet Union, the Azerbaijani people gave their consent to the Union treaty. Now Yevgeniy Ambarsunov has insolently asked the Russian parliament whether it would be possible to sign the Union treaty with Ayaz Mutalibov. Until an appropriate reply is given to him, we will wonder whether they are allies of the Azerbaijani people. The matter does not concern only me; it concerns the entire people. [passage indistinct]

Let me also point out that this has been the stand of the central authorities as well. In this new move and wave of hatred, I see an effort to subdue and intimidate all our people. I see an effort to remove all those who firmly resist the unending Armenian terrorist activities and attacks. You will recall that this new move began in February 1988. Those who stood behind the separatists became known because of the regrettable political struggle which went on for many months and which claimed many victims and casualties. The separatists were not only supported by the nationalists in Yerevan. The motivators, provocateurs, and [word indistinct] of the (?move) made against Azerbaijan sat in the ranks of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and [words indistinct] in Moscow. The flame of the incidents in Sumgait was kindled with the help of these high-ranking officials. [passage indistinct]

Communist Party, Supreme Soviet To View Events

LD2808150291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1315 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today there is to be a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of Azerbaijan. Tomorrow sees the opening of an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. The agendas are not yet known, but one may safely suggest that the main topics of discussion will be the events of recent days, their consequences, and ways of overcoming them.

Supreme Soviet Convenes Emergency Session

*OW2908154491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1415 GMT 29 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday Azerbaijan's parliament convened for an extraordinary session in Baku to discuss issues connected with the state of emergency in force in Baku and with the present political situation.

Previously the Azeri Popular Front organized an unauthorized meeting which gathered 10,000 people. Those present discussed questions connected with Azerbaijan's sovereignty and independence. They called for suspending preparations for presidential elections and for nationalizing the property of Azerbaijan's Communist party.

Similar actions took place in the cities of Evlakh and Shemakha.

Political Situation in Baku Remains 'Tense'

*LD2808183391 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Unidentified correspondent report from Baku; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The political situation in Azerbaijan remains tense. As they say, those at the top are no longer able to do anything, and there is no way of stopping those below. People have started issuing various decrees in the republic with crazy haste: decrees on deparatization, on suspending the activities of the communist and all other political parties functioning on the territory of Azerbaijan, and a decree on moving all enterprises of a Union scale as well as the Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB to the jurisdiction of the republican government.

All of these reforms are being implemented by the former communist leadership of the republic, with the meetings of the Azerbaijani People's Front acting as a backdrop. After an 18-month interval they have once again come out onto the central Lenin square and have assembled a meeting of many thousands. [video switches to shots of a statue of Lenin being removed from its pediment—action taking place at night—then the following day, the main square is shown, minus the statue]

Incidentally, regarding Lenin—yesterday night, the 12 meter monument to Ilyich was dismantled on the main square of Baku. Now, the town is without a monument, but as is clear, the spirit of Lenin is still with the people of Baku.

Government Takes Control of Center-Run Firms

*OW2808182991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutaibov has issued a decree ordering the republic's Council of Ministers to transfer center-run enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan by January 1, 1992.

The republic will take control over all these enterprises and organizations, except few to remain temporarily under the central authority.

However, the decree does not indicate which of the enterprises and organizations are to remain under the Union jurisdiction.

Also, the Azerbaijani President issued a decree bringing the Interior Ministry, Prosecutor's Office, state security and law enforcement bodies under special jurisdiction of the republic.

Changes Reported in Republic's News Media

*LD2808202191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1225 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku, 28 August (TASS)—COMMUNIST newspaper, one of the periodicals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, which is published in the Azerbaijan language, has acquired a new name today—KHALG GAZETI [People's Newspaper]. While BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, which is published in Russian, still came out today as an organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of this Transcaucasian Soviet republic. VYSHKA, which was a socio-political newspaper of the Central Committee in the past, has from today become a socio-political newspaper of the working people of Azerbaijan. It has received its new status at the proposal of the editorial staff. The slogan "For democracy and social progress" has replaced the traditional one—"Workers of the world, unite!"

Unlike these publications which, before the decree of the republic's president on deparatization, were the mouthpiece of the ruling party, and contrary to the claims of some central editions, not a single one of the press organs of various socio-political movements and associations has been shut down in the last days.

Earlier, by a presidential decree, the state information agency under the Cabinet of Ministers was transformed into the state information agency of the Azerbaijan Republic. This action was implemented, according to the decree, with the aim of further improving the system of the state information service.

Reasons Given for Delayed Start to Academic Year

OW2808185191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Local authorities of Azerbaijan have been permitted to postpone the beginning of studies at high schools (usually on September 1) for a month, at a maximum, depending on agreements with collective farms where the students are sent to help gather in the harvest. Secondary schools have also been authorized to begin studies depending on weather conditions.

Some observers believe the permissions may have been caused by the republican leadership's fear of possible student demonstrations which could break presidential elections scheduled for September 8.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Appeal Urges 'Strictist Account' of Putschists

NC2508104691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network
in Armenian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] At the suggestion of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] soviet executive committee, the acting chairman of the oblast executive committee Leonard Petrosyan has appealed to USSR President Gorbachev, Russian President Yeltsin, and to the Russian Federation's Procuracy.

The appeal says: The attempt by a group of criminals to stage a coup d'etat revealed much about the events taking place in NKAO. The leading organizers of this coup had received the representatives of the autonomous oblast many times, the last one being a few days before the disturbances. On each occasion they denied their participation in the criminal operations carried out by the Soviet Army and internal troop subunits, and shifted the blame to the country's president. Now it is becoming clear to whose advantage it was to maintain and exacerbate the tension in the entire Transcaucasian region and destabilize the situation in the country. Also confirmed are the conclusions of many Russian people's deputies, who on the basis of their observations had declared that the NKAO has been turned into a military training ground where harsh methods of suppressing peaceful demonstrations and the seizure of power, government buildings, communications centers and television studios are being performed. Hundreds of people died as a result these criminal activities and scores of villages were destroyed and demolished. Hundreds of thousands of people lost their belief in democracy and justice. Many Soviet and international human rights organizations became acquainted with the situation on the spot and criticized the activities of the NKAO military authorities, describing them as criminal acts violating the basic norms of human rights.

Just like other noble Soviet peoples, NKAO residents support the decision to call the organizers of the coup to the strictest account. In addition to that, we request that you institute criminal charges against those members of the group who organized bloody crimes in the NKAO and all of the Transcaucasian region, and against their primary henchmen in the center and other places. The inevitable punishment of the insurgents for these criminal acts would be an excellent lesson for those who shared their hallucinatory intentions, who could again try to satisfy their personal ambitions by playing with the fate of the country, and who erect their standard of living on people's misfortunes.

It must be recognized that even today the prototypes of the state committees—the so-called organizational committees—of the infamous state of emergency are functioning illegally. These committees have forcibly supplanted the constitutional organs of power and administration in NKAO and in the adjacent regions.

Criminal proceedings against and the calling to account of the high-ranking criminals for their arbitrary and illegal acts in the NKAO would not only serve the restoration of justice, but also would be a small consolation for the mothers and fathers who lost their sons, for the orphans who lost parents, for the hundreds of refugees and deported, and for all those who for a long time have been bearing the yoke of deprivations and harassment imposed on them by the anachronistic state of emergency.

Coup Supporter Still Holds Supervisory Position

LD2408183991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Here is a Russian Information Agency report from Yerevan: Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, is still at work in Baku supervising operations in Nagorno-Karabakh. In view of this, Zoriy Balayan, USSR people's deputy, expresses amazement as to how this active supporter of the putschists can still consider himself to be the representative of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in Karabakh.

Leader Wants USSR Supreme Soviet Action

NC2708122491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network
in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Following the failed coup, the people of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] entertain hopes that a solution to its problems will also be found. Things are happening, however, that make this impossible; the 4th Army was shelling Verishen village in Shaumyanovskiy rayon until yesterday.

These facts were included in a cable sent to President Gorbachev and the emergency session of the USSR Supreme Soviet by the acting chairman of NKAO oblast executive committee, Leonard Petrosyan.

The cable says: Houses have been destroyed, people killed, and NKAO's communication lines with the rest of the country have been severed. Stepanakert Airport has again been occupied by the Azerbaijani Special Militia Detachment. Petrosyan asks if everything else in the country is undergoing change except for the situation of the ancient people of the NKAO.

At the request of NKAO's oblast executive committee, Petrosyan requested that the NKAO problem be discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session and at the Congress of the People's Deputies.

Soviet Army Attacks on Village Continue

NC2508112591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] General Sokolov, commander of the 4th Army, and Colonel Duzeykin, commander of the 23d Division, are continuing to implement the orders of the insurgents, Mutalibov, and Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, and are disregarding the order by USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov to withdraw the troops from [words indistinct] and Verishen village. This is being reported by USSR People's Deputies Belozertsev and Col. Smirnov.

The units under the criminal commanders are using all weapons available to them to shell and attack Verishen village. Akob Akobyan, 25, who was gravely injured the previous day, died on 23 August. There are injured, including children. According to preliminary reports, 15 people have been killed. The attack resumed on the village at 2100 yesterday. Yet another two Armenians were injured. The elderly, women and children are being evacuated from the village. At present 552 children are sheltered in nearby Gulistan village. The others were taken to Stepanakert. The shelling of the village resumed after a break at night.

Further on Attack

LD2408174291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 24 August. (TASS)—Alarming news is arriving in Nagorno-Karabakh from the adjacent Geranboyskiy (formerly Shaumyanovskiy) rayon in Azerbaijan. It has transpired that throughout the three days of the coup in the USSR the Soviet Army's 23d division, half of which is made up of Azerbaijani servicemen and OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] troops of the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs, carried out rocket attacks from helicopters and directed artillery and machinegun fire from the ground against the large Armenian village of Verishen (Yukhary-Adzhikend). Dozens of houses have been burned down and people have been killed. The village has been abandoned by old men, women, and children, and only the male population remains.

People have died in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] itself. Three people were killed and 12 injured, five of them seriously, as a result of an ambush in which unknown persons fired on a minibus carrying Azerbaijanis near the village of Dzhamili in the Askeranskiy rayon, NKAO. Military groups which went to the scene of the attack which occurred on Friday [23 August] evening, failed to detain anyone. An investigation is under way.

Also on Friday the Azerbaijani settlement of Khodzhally in the NKAO's Askeranskiy rayon came under attack.

Attacks Continue 27 Aug

LD2708184391 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert August 27 TASS—The Armenian villages of Karachinar and Verkhny Adzhikend (Verishen) in Azerbaijan's Geranboyskiy District, which is adjacent to Nagorno-Karabakh, came under artillery and missile fire this morning.

These villages have been besieged by Soviet Army units and Azerbaijan's OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] troops. Armenian self-defence detachments are defending them. The bombardment injured four Armenians, according to preliminary reports received at the press centre of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional executive committee.

Azerbaijani Militia Reoccupy Stepanakert Airport

NC2708121091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] reoccupied Stepanakert airport on 25 August. General Kovalyov, head of the Internal Affairs Department of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], visited the airport but failed to resolve the issue.

For the last few days airport passenger control was carried out by Armenian and Azerbaijani staffers at the NKAO's transportation militia and Internal Affairs Department without OMON interference. Apparently some people do not like this situation, which considerably minimized tension in the airport and made Yerevan-Stepanakert flights possible. Who are this people?

According to Azerbaijani media reports the situation in Baku has sharply exacerbated on the wake of the insurgents' defeat. Certain forces in Azerbaijan have expressed their disagreement with the policy of the Azerbaijani Communist leadership which has apparently decided to use NKAO as a trump card to keep its hold on power.

Baku's military commandant Buniyadov made a statement on Azerbaijani television on 25 August and

accused the Azerbaijani People's Front of exacerbating the tension in the capital. He warned that he will take resolute measures to prevent a People's Front public rally from being held on 26 August. The commandant emphasized that such actions are incompatible with the interests of the Azerbaijani people in defending the republic's territorial integrity against Armenia's territorial encroachments.

The direct connection between the action of the OMON at the airport and the complex domestic situation in Azerbaijan is obvious. [words indistinct] ARMENPRES correspondent was told that the pilots from Yerevan will be once more forced to cancel flights to Stepanakert because due to the OMON presence at the airport.

Armenian 'Bandits' Reportedly Raid Towns 22 Aug

NC2608071691 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs has disclosed that the positive changes in relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian residents of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Azerbaijani rayons which border Armenia and the removal of the bandit groups from the towns inhabited by Azerbaijanis have angered the separatists, who maintain their resistance. Armed Armenians fired on Erkech, Manashid, and Buzluk towns in Geranboyskiy Rayon with missile launchers, mortars, and artillery units during the last three days. They attempted to capture the three towns.

Thanks to the additional measures taken by law enforcement organs; however, the extremist groups were dispersed. The remnants of the groups, which suffered heavy losses in men and technical equipment, were forced to retreat.

The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs also disclosed that a bus, which carried the employees of the republic's militia organization, hit a mine close to Shadak town in Gadrutskiy Rayon last night. The bus was destroyed. The bus driver was killed and five militia workers were wounded as a result of this criminal action. Nevertheless, the law enforcement organs are in control of the situation in the entire region. Measures are being put into effect to disband the Armenian bandits.

Missile Attack on Khodzhalı Reported 22 Aug

NC2708101591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1700 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The sleeping residents of Khodzhalı city in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) woke up to the sounds of explosions last night. The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs has disclosed that the missiles were fired from the direction of the Mekhdishen town in NKAO's Askeranskiy Rayon. A town inhabited by Armenians. Four of the more than 20 missiles fired at Khodzhalı fell on the outskirts of the city. The remaining missiles crossed over Khodzhalı and exploded away from the city. No casualties or damage has been reported.

Kazakhstan**Supreme Soviet Extraordinary Session Opens**

LD2408181191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Report by correspondent A. Nugmanova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet opened in Alma-Ata today. The republican parliament's deputies gathered hastily to evaluate the current times and determine measures to strengthen Kazakhstan's sovereignty. The events of the past few days show that there must be no delay in carrying out a decisive policy to ensure the republic's political and economic autonomy. Kazakh SSR President Nazarbayev addressed the session. First he evaluated the past events, noting that all the leaders who carried out real actions to support the State Committee for the State of Emergency will be relieved of the posts they occupy. It is now important to concentrate on continuing decisively with the economic reforms, having clearly and unambiguously defined the principles of dividing union and republic property, destatizing and privatizing enterprises, and strengthening the country's single economic space. The union treaty signing must be followed immediately by economic agreements between the republics.

The session adopted a law on introducing amendments and supplements to the republic's constitution. In particular, it has been supplemented by a clause on the inadmissibility of activity of public organizations with political aims in bodies of state power, the administration, justice, arbitration, the procuracy, the KGB, the internal affairs ministry, and paramilitary formations. The law contains legal mechanisms to exclude the possibility of a repeat attempt at a coup, both at the level of the country and of the republic.

The deputies are seriously concerned about measures to ensure Kazakhstan's economic sovereignty. In the general opinion, this includes achieving the financial autonomy of the republic, the further improvement of the banking system, the creation of a raw material and gold reserve, and the guarantee of autonomy in the foreign trade activity of Kazakhstan.

Further on Supreme Soviet

PM2808160291 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[KAZTAG-TASS report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Session of Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—An extraordinary session of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet took place here 24 August. The parliamentarians discussed the question of evaluating the current situation

and measures to strengthen the republic's sovereignty. Kazakh President N.A. Nazarbayev delivered a report.

The session endorsed the position and action of the president and the organs of state power and republic administration and endorsed their support of democratic forces in the situation that developed as a result of the attempted coup d'état.

Showing care and concern for the country's future, the deputies suggested that additional norms legally excluding the possibility of infringements of the constitutional order, democracy, and human rights be introduced into the text of the Union Treaty that has been prepared for signing.

In light of recent events, amendments and additions have been made to Kazakhstan's Constitution. They include a directive on the Security Council which is being set up by the Kazakh SSR, a decision on the departyization of law enforcement and judicial organs and organs of state power and administration, and other items.

Constitutional Amendment Adopted

PM2908102691 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Single Edition p 5

[Colonel A. Ladin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Period of Change"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—An extraordinary session of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted a law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law of the Kazakh SSR)." The following clause has been added to Article 71 in particular: "The Kazakh SSR has internal troops under the control of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and subordinate to the Kazakh president."

Kazakh Communist Party Dissolved, Plenum Set

LD2808150691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The last plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party has just completed its work in Alma-Ata, according to our correspondent. It was decided at the plenum to disband the republican Communist Party and cease the activities of its Central Committee. At the plenum, Nursultan Nazarbayev made a statement on his resignation from the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party. Participants in the plenum decided to convene an extraordinary congress on 7 September, at which they intend to create a completely new political organization that will unite all progressive public forces.

Nazarbayev Bans Combined Government, Party Posts
LD2808144691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1305 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 28 Aug.—(TASS) President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan issued a decree today on the impermissibility of combining top posts in bodies of state power and administration with posts in political parties and in other sociopolitical associations. The document states that such a measure will enable heads of bodies of state power and administration in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic to preserve their independence from the influence of political parties and sociopolitical associations and to be guided by constitutional methods alone when adopting decisions.

Nazarbayev Invites Russian Representatives
OW2908130191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1045 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has suggested that the Russian leadership immediately send its plenipotentiary representatives to Alma-Ata. His message to Boris Yeltsin says that public protest with unpredictable consequences is mounting in Kazakhstan because there has been no clear-cut renunciation of Russian territorial claims to neighbouring republics so far. "This can force the republic to take the same steps as the Ukraine. Special danger lies in the fact that Kazakhstan is a nuclear republic," the message says.

According to President Nazarbayev, the developments speak of an acceleration of the disintegration of the Soviet economy and the country as a whole that can be used by reactionary forces for their own benefit. Nazarbayev urged Yeltsin to send immediately a joint message to all the 15 republics suggesting a meeting, preferably before the extraordinary congress of people's deputies beginning on Monday, to sign a document on the formation of an economic union with the purpose of restoring ties and creating a common economic space as well as to discuss the final version of the Union treaty.

Nazarbayev suggested holding such a meeting in Kiev, Minsk, or Alma-Ata.

Alma-Ata Airport Evacuated in Bomb 'Hoax'
LD2808185291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] A report from the AZIYAPRESS AGENCY says that the Alma-Ata central air terminal was paralyzed for several hours after an unidentified person phoned the militia in the morning and stated that the terminal would be blown up. As soon as the warning was received, the evacuated building was searched for explosives, but as

suspected, the alarm was merely a clumsy hoax. Inquiries rapidly carried out by the militia helped to detain the hoax caller.

Poll Data Shows Support for Coup

PM2908140591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[V. Verk report under general headline "Events Day By Day": "Kazakhstan a Base for Coups"]

[Text] There has been and continues to be a major social base in the republic for a right-wing coup—that was the conclusion drawn by staffers at the republic's center for the study of public opinion after publishing the figures of a snap poll conducted in Alma-Ata, Karaganda, and Chimkent 19-22 August.

On 20 August half of those polled either approved the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] or were don't knows. Of the three cities polled, only Karaganda saw a fall in the number of supporters of the unconstitutional committee as opposed to day one—from 37 to 11 percent. In Chimkent, however, support increased from 34 to 51.9 percent. In Alma-Ata around half the respondents either approved of the putschists' actions or were don't knows (on 19 August 24 percent of those polled had supported the SCSE).

There was a curious situation the day after the coup failed. On 22 August 17 percent of Alma-Ata people considered it quite likely that there would be another coup. It is worth noting that 47 percent of residents in the republic's capital were "don't knows." Roughly similar data was obtained in the other two cities.

Kyrgyzstan

Supreme Soviet Session Scheduled for 31 Aug

LD2908111891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0736 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Maynayevev]

[Text] Bishkek, 29 Aug (TASS)—The sixth extraordinary session of the national parliament will start its work in Kyrgyzstan's capital on 31 August. This was stated in a statement by the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet made public today. Only four issues have been submitted for the attention of parliamentarians: lessons drawn from the attempted coup d'etat; a law on the elections of Kyrgyzstan's president; nationwide elections of Kyrgyzstan's president and ratification of the treaty on friendship and cooperation with Turkmenia; and the treaty on fundamental interstate relations with Russia.

Decree Issued 29 Aug Freezes Communist Funds*LD2908101291 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 29 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Boris Maynaye]v]

[Text] Bishkek August 29 TASS—A decree was issued today which recommends the Kyrgyz state bank, joint-stock and commercial banks to suspend operations on current accounts of the republican Communist Party, including the accounts of self-financing organisations, created within the framework of party institutions. All movable property and real estate of the Kyrgyz Communist Party has been sealed and taken under guard by staff members of the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry. These moves were carried out by order of the Kyrgyz Prime Minister Naserdin Isanov.

Tajikistan**President Nationalizes Communist Party Property***LD2808123991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] Dushanbe, 28 Aug (TAJIKTA-TASS)—President of Tajikistan Kakhkhar Makhkamov today issued a decree according to which all immovable property belonging to the CPSU, under the control of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, is from now on the property of this Central Asian republic. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic is charged with determining, within a month, the procedure for taking inventory of the immovable property of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Tajikistan in strict accordance with USSR and republican laws on property and public associations.

Signs Economic Decree*LD2808184891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[By TADZHIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 28 Aug (TASS)—President Kakhkhar Makhkamov of Tajikistan has signed a decree on strengthening the economic base of the sovereignty of this Soviet Central Asian republic to come into force from today. In particular, the decree instructs the Cabinet of Ministers of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to insure by 1 January 1992 that enterprises and organizations under union subordination be taken into the jurisdiction of the republic. Excluded from this are defense-orientated enterprises and also those whose control is voluntarily transferred by the republic to the union. Destatization and privatization, change of status, and the reorganization and liquidation of enterprises and organizations under union subordination which are taken under the jurisdiction of the republic can be carried out only with the consent of the Tajik government.

The government of the republic, the document points out, is to determine the republic's share in the gold reserves and diamond fund of the USSR, its share of responsibility for clearing the USSR's external debt, and also its share of foreign countries' debts to the union. The Cabinet of Ministers is to present for discussion by the next session of the republic's parliament proposals for setting up the gold reserves and currency fund of the republic, and the national bank is to work out questions of the custody and realization of the gold and diamond funds of the Tajik SSR.

Turkmenia**President Cited on Coup, Communist Party***LD2808213691 Ashkhabad Radio Ashkhabad Network in Turkmen 1550 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Text] At the meeting of Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan and first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, with representatives of party, state, and public organizations and creative unions and with party veterans and ordinary communists and mass media workers on 28 August in Ashkhabad, questions concerning the situation in the country and in the Turkmenistan Communist Party were discussed. Niyazov stressed at the meeting that the decision on the fate of the Turkmenistan Communist Party must be made after opinions of every member of the party are considered. Niyazov pointed out that the fate of the Communist Party created by our fathers became rich, complicated, and confusing. Ordinary communists contributed to all achievements of the republic; in many [word indistinct] in most cases they were front-runners, but it was not possible to stop going too far in its development which affected the fate of many communists of the republic. This, above all, is linked with stabilization of the state structure, strengthening the party, stabilizing the central rule, and with the fact that the work of the CPSU abandoned its primary principles and replaced them with administrative command methods.

The relationship between the primary organizations among party leaders and ordinary communists and the CPSU Central Committee broke up. These tendencies began to be openly noticed in the work of the CP of the republic and in its leadership structure from top to bottom.

In recent years, a direct confrontation between representatives of most of the party committees and of higher party bodies and judicial ruling bodies increasingly began to be noticed in the country. When the known events took place on 19 August this year, it reached its ultimate limits. The president of Turkmenistan examined these events one by one and said that not a single person among the population of sovereign Turkmenistan will be ashamed of the decisions and actions of the leaders of the republic during those days because on the

territory of Turkmenistan, the adventure of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, was stopped.

Niyazov reported to the attendees of the meeting that irrespective of attempts by the State Committee for the State of Emergency to mislead the president of Turkmenistan and to conceal their real intention, Yanayev phoned him on 19 August and he was strictly told that the republic was going on its own sovereign path and did not intend to deviate from this path. In a manner different from other mass media, instructions by the president were given early that day to Turkmen radio and television, which are directly subordinated to the Presidential Council, that the decrees and orders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency not be broadcast in any form.

In order to maintain the (order) of the public and political situation in the republic, a conference was held on 19 August with the participation of representatives of military units. They convinced the president that they would fulfill his instructions and confirmed that they were prepared to be patient and calm and to use reason and logic above all for the interests of their own republic. For this reason no troops were allowed to enter any settlement of the republic. Furthermore, on 19 August, due to [words indistinct] by instructions of the president, Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB bodies took airlines, railway, and river and sea routes under control and on 21 August the decree of the president of Turkmenistan was issued. He declared that the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency was not valid on the territory of Turkmenistan. [passage indistinct]

Militia Detains Democratic Activists

PM2908104091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[V. Yegorov report under the general heading "Communism Drifting South?": "Turkmenia"]

[Text] Near the Turkmen Academy of Sciences History Institute yesterday, militia workers detained Turdumurat Khodzhamukhammedov, cochairman of the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan, and Mukhametgeldy Berdyev, a scientific staffer of the institute and an activist of the democratic movement. It is thought that the reason for their detention was an attempt to organize a rally in support of constitutional reforms in the USSR.

The arrests of dissidents, it emerged, began 22 August. On that day Aman Kovshutova, cochairman of the social movement for human rights, was arrested after publicly stating that Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov was a supporter of the unlawful authorities.

In fact, the republic's leadership fully supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency's decisions. Throughout the three days of the putsch the republic's press published statements and decrees of Yanayev and co. Furthermore, when the fate of the coup had been decided—22 August—TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, the

republic's party newspaper, published a selection of materials from the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and about the actions of Kalinin, commandant of Moscow.

The situation in the republic is heating up. In a speech on republic television, Niyazov stated that the Turkmen Communist Party will continue to exist and promote the republic's prosperity.

Uzbekistan

Supreme Soviet Head Wants Independence Bill

OW2608211191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of Uzbekistan's Supreme Soviet Shavkat Yuldashev, who was the first Communist Party secretary in the Fergana region during the tragic events in the Fergana valley, issued a decree on August 26 calling for setting up a working group to hammer out a bill on Uzbekistan's independence as a state. The bill is to be considered at the next session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Communist Party Breaks Ties With CPSU

LD2808174291 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT
28 Aug 91

[Text] Tashkent August 28 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee on Wednesday decided to break its ties with the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, separate itself from all party structures and recall its representatives from its elected bodies. The decision has to be approved by the 28th emergency congress in September.

Islam Karimov, Uzbek party chief, told the meeting the decision was prompted by the unprincipled and cowardly position of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat during the coup. He stressed Uzbek communists approved of the activities of the republic's party leadership between August 19-21 to prevent a state of emergency in the republic, maintain stability and ensure normal work in Uzbekistan.

Karimov disagreed with Gorbachev's calls for disbanding the Communist Party. He said it is Gorbachev's right to resign from the post of the party secretary-general but decisions on the disbandment of the party and its property can be made only by a plenary meeting or a congress.

Participants agreed that the republic's Communist Party should be an independent political organization and proposed to reconsider its name, programme, charter, forms and methods at the 28th party congress.

Pro-Democracy Rally in Tashkent Broken Up

*PM2908083891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1*

[N. Suleymanov and V. Sergeyev report under the general heading "Communism Drifting South?": "Uzbekistan"]

[Text] In Tashkent on 26 August the militia and people in civilian clothes broke up a rally honoring the victory of Russia's democratic forces which the local opposition—the "Birlik" people's movement and the republic's Movement for Democratic Reforms—were trying to organize. In fact, this was the first time that a rally had been attended jointly by representatives of the Uzbek and Russian-speaking population of Tashkent. The law enforcement agencies forced not only the active participants in the rally but also casual passers-by and journalists covering the event into a bus and detained them. The detainees included correspondents from INTERFAX, the MEGAPOLIS-EKSPRESS, and local youth publications.

The decree by Islam Karimov, president of the republic, revoking the decision of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, was signed on the evening of 21 August.

Postscript: As we were told at "Birlik" headquarters, the opposition is firmly intent on holding a rally with the same agenda on 8 September despite the repression.

Police Disperse Meeting

*LD2908095991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 0800 GMT 29 Aug 91*

[Text] Tension is growing in the capital Tashkent of Uzbekistan. A meeting on the occasion of the victory won by Russia's democratic forces was dispersed by the police. For the first time, representatives of Uzbek and Russian-speaking populations rallied together. The meeting had been organized by the Uzbek Birlik Movement and the Movement for Democratic Reforms. Not only the rally's activists but also journalists were detained by the police. A spokesman for the Birlik

Movement announced, however, that another meeting would be called on 8 September despite resistance from official authorities.

Uzbek TV Blocks Vremya Program, Russian TV

*LD2808182591 Moscow Central Television Vostok
Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1550 GMT
28 Aug 91*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] For four days the operative video channel links for the transmission of reports from Tashkent to Ostankino [Moscow TV studios] has been closed to our correspondents in Uzbekistan. On 25 August, during preparations for reports for the Vremya and Utro programs on the work of the Erk Democratic Party extraordinary congress in Tashkent, our correspondents in Tashkent were thrown out of the editorial studios of the republican television center and not given access to the video channel link already reserved by the editors.

On 23 August the republican television center also disconnected the Russian Television channel. We ask the republic's leadership to give our correspondents an explanation for these illegal actions with regard to the work of the correspondents' post in Uzbekistan and the reasons for disconnecting the Russian Television channel.

Uzbek TV Programs To Be Aired

*OW2808184491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 28 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The broadcasting of the 2nd (Russian Federation's) Central TV channel has been canceled in Uzbekistan. Now that channel will show Uzbek TV programs, mainly in the Uzbek language. During the coup attempt Uzbek TV was carrying out the Emergency Committee's order to broadcast programs only on the 1st channel, in particular, the plotters' statements.